University of Alberta

AGE AND GENDER IN A LOCAL LABOUR MARKET:
RE-EMPLOYMENT AMONG A GROUP OF OLDER WORKERS

by

SHIRLEY MARIE SOLBERG ©

A thesis submitted to the Faculty of Graduate Studies and Research in partial fulfillment of
the requirements for the degree of Doctor of Philosophy

Department of Sociology

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ABSTRACT

This study examines age and gender as labour market risks for re-employment among older workers in a labour adjustment program. Participants attending a Job Finding Club (JFC) were divided into four groups; mid-age men 45-54 years, mid-age women 45-54 years, older men 55-64 years and older women 55-64 years and they were compared along a number of dimensions of job finding success. The JFC records of 636 participants supplemented by structured interviews with 57 of these workers provided information on their re-employment at the end of the JFC and three months after they finished the program, as well as, on the experiences of the older workers in searching for work. The analytical framework used for the study considered the importance of individual/ personal, social/ideological, political, and economic factors which have an effect on older workers' re-employment success while the research questions were framed within labour market segmentation theory.

The findings suggest that JFCs may produce different results for various age and gender groups. In the short term they seem to work best for mid-age women who were the most successful in attaining a job and did not assist older men very well. Participants lost jobs in management and paraprofessional occupations and gained jobs in sales and services. Deskilling among participants was fairly common as were decreases in annual salary. Their lives had been greatly affected by their recent unemployment, however, the participants had a realistic assessment of what was occurring among older workers. They were concerned about their ability to find a suitable job and felt there was a bias towards younger workers in retraining and finding jobs. The findings have a number of policy implications for older workers searching for work and for the type of assistance they receive. While job searching assistance may help a number of unemployed older workers, it does not solve all their labour market difficulties. Assistance based on an accurate assessment of labour market barriers of mid-age and older workers needs to be considered.

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what it means to be an older worker searching for work at this point in time.

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TABLE OF CONTENTS

ABSTRACT

ACKNOWLEDGEMENTS

TABLE OF CONTENTS

LIST OF TABLES

LIST OF FIGURES

CHAPTER

1 INTRODUCTION 1

The Importance of Age and Gender in the Labour Market 5

Importance of Political, Economic, and Social Conditions on Older Workers 5

Edmonton labour market 6

Overview of Research 7

Research Purpose, Objectives, and Questions 8

Theoretical and Methodological Challenges 9

The Concept of the Older Worker 10

Gender and age 10

Theoretical Framework: Human Capital Theory 11

The Inseparability of Age, Gender, Class, and Ethnicity 13

Age Barriers to Employment 13

Theoretical Framework: Labour Market Segmentation 14

Summary 17

2 A LITERATURE REVIEW OF OLDER WORKERS AND RE-EMPLOYMENT . 20

The Labour Market 21

Labour Market Segmentation 22

Labour market processes 23

The individual and the labour market 24

Age in the Labour Market 25

Gender in the Labour Market 25
Age and Gender in Re-employment Research 27
Plant closures 27
Studies of displaced workers 30
U.S. displacement studies 33
Re-employment of older women 36
The Importance of Social Class and Age 39
Individual Factors Affecting Older Workers and Re-employment 42
Job Search Skills 43
Gender and job searching behaviour 51
Limitations of job searching studies 52
Lower Education or Lack of Retraining 53
Limitations in age and retraining research 56
Mobility of Older Workers 57
Limitations in mobility research and older workers. 58
Health of Older Workers 59
Limitations of research on health of older workers 59
Social Factors Affecting Older Workers and Re-employment 60
Attitudes Toward Older Workers 60
Age Discrimination 62
Lobbying Efforts on Behalf of Older Workers 67
One Voice, the Canadian Seniors Network 68
Older Workers Resource Network 68
Seniors Employment Bureaux (SEBs) in Canada 69
National consultations: One Voice and SEBs 69
Political Factors Affecting Older Workers and Re-employment 71
Legislation Against Discrimination 71

Early and Mandatory Retirement Provisions 73
Job Training Strategies and Assistance For Older Workers 74
Job Finding Clubs (JFCs) 77
Program for Older Worker Adjustment (POWA). 79
Effectiveness of Programs to Assist Older Workers 80
Canadian studies 80
U.S. Studies 81
Other Government Actions 83
Interdepartmental Committee on Older Workers 84
Committee on Older Workers 86
Charting a course for older workers 87
Public education 88
Task force on older workers 88
Government's Position Towards Older Workers 90
Economic Factors and Effects on Older Workers 91
Contingent Workers 93
Worker Displacement 94
Underemployment and Older Workers 98
Responses by Business 100
Summary 102
3 METHODOLOGY 107
Definition of an Older Worker 108
Age and labour markets 109
Operational definitions 110
Definition of Re-employment Success and Deskilling 111
Coding of Occupations 112
Setting: The Job Finding Club 114

Local Labour Market Conditions 116
    Labour Market Indicators 117
        Population aged 15 and over 118
        Older workers 118
    Unemployment Insurance Claims and Help-wanted Index 120
        UI claims by age and gender 122
        Help-wanted index 124
    Industrial Structure: Employment by Industry 124
    Occupational Structure: Employment By Occupation 129
    Changes in Business Activity by Industry 131
Participants 133
        JFC participants 133
        JFC drop-outs 134
        Interview participants 134
        Interviews 135
Methods and Data Sources 135
    JFC Summary Records 136
        Baseline data 136
        Re-employment Data 140
            JFC data and first job 140
            Three month follow-up 141
            Constructed variables 142
    Structured Interviews 144
Data Analysis 144
        JFC Records: Re-employment Data 144
            Logistic regression 144
        Interviews with Selected JFC Participants 146

Ethical Considerations 147

4 FINDINGS: RE-EMPLOYMENT BY AGE AND GENDER 148

Characteristics of JFC Members 149

Employment Characteristics 152

Previous salary 152

Skill level and type 154

Length of Time Unemployed 156

Long-term unemployment 158

Job Finding Success 158

Re-employment Success by Age and Gender Groups 159

Job changers 161

Likelihood of Having a Job at the End of the JFC 162

Likelihood of Having a Job at the Three Month Follow-up 164

Summary: Re-employment Success of Older Workers 166

Occupational Changes with Re-employment 168

Occupational Mobility 168

Comparisons of Skill Type and Skill Level Between Jobs 169

Skill type 169

Skill level 170

Changes in skill at the end of the JFC 170

Changes in skill at three months follow-up 173

Occupational Change: Deskilling 175

Occupational Goals vs. Previous Occupation 176

Predictors of Deskilling 179

Comparisons of Salary Between Previous Job and New Jobs 181

Summary: Occupational Change with Re-employment 184

Job Search Behaviour 188

Applications 188
Phone calls 189
Personal Contacts 190
Interviews 190
Differences in Job Search by Age and Gender 190
Sources of Finding a Job at the End of the JFC 191
Summary: Job Search Behaviour 193
The Importance of Labour Market Conditions 194
Summary: Importance of Local Labour Market Conditions 198
Summary 200
5 FINDINGS: SOCIAL FACTORS AND RE-EMPLOYMENT 203
Profiles of Selected Mid-Age and Older Workers 204
Characteristics of Participants 207
Current employment status 209
Previous Employment 210
Employment History Past Ten Years 211
Characteristics of last job 215
Worker-job match of previous job 217
Effects of technology on work 219
Perceived changes in work over the last five years 221
Reason for leaving job 222
Searching for Work: Social and Economic Factors 223
Job Search Methods 224
Problems Experienced While Searching For Work 226
Financial situation 228
Retirement plans 230
Attitudes Towards Finding a Job 231

Willingness to Change Careers and Retrain 233
Being an Older Worker 236
Who is the Older Worker? 236
Subjective age 238
Age and gender discrimination 238
Political Consequences of Being an Unemployed Older Worker 239
Degree of Confidence in Societal Institutions 240
Intended Voting Patterns 241
Support for Government Actions 244
Life Satisfaction 246
Summary: Social Factors and Re-employment 248
6 DISCUSSION AND RECOMMENDATIONS FOR FURTHER RESEARCH . 251
The JFC as an Employment Strategy for Mid-Age and Older Workers 252
Participants in the JFC 253
Deskilling and mid-age and older workers 260
Policy Implications 263
Strengths and Limitations of Present Study 269
Generalizability of Findings 272
Future Research 273
REFERENCES 276
APPENDIX A: SELECTED DEFINITIONS OF AN OLDER WORKER 306

LIST OF TABLES

TABLE	DESCRIPTION	PAGE
3-1	Summary of Annual Average Labour Market Indicators for the Population 15+ for the Edmonton Census Metropolitan Area, 1988 to 1992	119
3-2	Summary of Annual Average Labour Market Indicators for Older Men and Women 45+ for the Edmonton Census Metropolitan Area, 1989 to 1992	121
3-3	Three Month UI Claims for All Claimants by Gender and for Older Workers by Age and Gender for Edmonton CECs, September 30, 1989 to March 15, 1993	123
3-4	Help-wanted Index (1991=100) for Edmonton by Twelve Month Average and by Month for 1988 to 1993	125
3-5	Annual Average Employment by Industry for Edmonton 1989-1993 by Number (in thousands) and as a Percent of Total Employment	127
3-6	Annual Average Employment by Occupation for Edmonton 1990-1993 by Number (in thousands) and as a Percent of Total Employment	130
3-7	Number of Current Businesses by Industry and Year for Edmonton 1989-1992 and Percentage Annual Change	133
4-1	Characteristics of JFC Members by Age and Gender	150
4-2	Salary and Method of Payment of Previous Salary by Age and Gender	153
4-3	Skill Level and Skill Type of Previous Job by Age and Gender	155
4-4	Comparison of Mean Weeks Not Working and Weeks Looking for Work for All JFC Participants and by Age and Gender Group	157
4-5	Re-employment Success by Age and Gender Group at the End of the JFC and at Three Month Follow-up	161
4-8	Comparison of Skill Type and Skill Level of Previous Job and New Job for Those Re-employed at End of the JFC	171
4-9	Comparison of Skill Type and Skill Level of Previous Job and Job at the Three Month Follow-up for Those Re-employed	174

4-10 Deskilling at End of JFC and at Three Month Follow-up by Age and Gender Group 176

4-11 Difference in Skill Level and Skill Type with Occupational Goal as Compared with Previous Occupation by Age and Gender Group 178

4-12 Logistic Regression Estimates Predicting the Likelihood of Experiencing Deskilling at the Three Month Follow-up 180

4-13 Comparison of Mean Salary of Previous Job and Job at End of JFC and Previous Job and Job at Three Months for JFC Members Reemployed at These Two Time Periods 182

4-14 Comparison of Reported Payment Method of Previous Job with Job at End of JFC and Job at Three Months for Those Re-employed by Age and Gender Group 184

4-15 Comparison of Mean Number of Job Searching Techniques Reported for all JFC Members and by Age and gender Group 189

4-16 Method of Finding a Job at End of JFC and at Three Month Follow-up by Age and Gender 192

4-17 Re-employment Success at End of JFC and at the Three Month Follow-up by Age and Gender and Key Labour Market Indicators by Year 196

5-1 Characteristics of Participants by Age and Gender 208

5-2 Comparison of Means of Past Employment Characteristics Reported for all Participants and by Age and Gender Groups 211

5-3 Comparison of Mean Number of Jobs and Number of Job Interruptions in Past Ten Years for all Participants and by Age and gender Groups 213

5-4 Skill Level and Skill Type of Previous Job by Age and Gender 217

5-5 Reported Problems While Unemployed by Age and Gender 227

5-6 Attitudes Toward Finding a Job by Age and Gender 233

5-7 Retraining, Older Workers, and Gender by Age and Gender 235

5-8 Mean Score of Confidence in Social Institutions by Total Group and by Age and Gender 242

5-9 The Importance of Government's Role on Selected Issues 245

5-10 Mean Satisfaction Score by Total Group and by Age and Gender 247

LIST OF FIGURES

FIGURE	DESCRIPTION	PAGE
4-1	Status of Members at End of JFC and at Three Month Follow-up	160

CHAPTER 1

INTRODUCTION

GENERAL RESULTS OF THE INVESTIGATION:

The golden decade is between 30 and 40.
The silver decade is between 40 and 50.
The brazen decade is between 20 and 30.
The iron decade is between 50 and 60.
The tin decade is between 60 and 70.
The wooden decade is between 70 and 80.

Legal Responsibility in Old Age, Based on
Researches into the Relation of Age To Work
(G. M. Beard, 1874/1979, p. 7).

This is a case study of re-employment of older workers attending a Job Finding Club (JFC), designed for those 45 years and older, in a city in Western Canada between November 1988 and October 1992. The main purpose of the study is to examine an increasingly important sector of the labour market, older workers, and how they fare within a state supported labour adjustment program while they search for work. It examines the roles that age and gender play in producing the re-employment patterns observed among this particular group and identifies some of the other factors that may have an impact on their ability to find a job. While the study is mainly descriptive, exploring re-employment among a particular group of older workers participating in a JFC in a selected local labour market, it is also an analysis of their situation and how well labour market policies designed specifically for older workers assist these workers to find a suitable job. The re-employment success of workers attending a JFC is explored by examining the labour market segmentation by age and gender that occurs upon re-employment. A further analysis is made of factors that may have an impact on that segmentation and how these older unemployed workers conceptualized their situation. It is an attempt to examine how re-employment is conditioned by worker characteristics and experiences, societal attitudes, government policies and programs, and economic structures and processes in the labour market.

In the past greater emphasis in research on unemployment has been placed on the problems of youth and their entry into the labour market (Ashton, Maguire, & Spilsbury, 1990; Betcherman & Morissette, 1994; 1991; Krahn & Lowe, 1990; Redpath, 1991) and less sociological research has been done on the labour market re-entry problems of older workers (Rife, 1995)[1]. Even less emphasis has been placed on older women in this type of research (David, 1994). Reports and studies on the older worker's labour market activity have mainly focused on exit from the labour market (Guillemard, 1991; Laczko & Phillipson, 1991; McDonald & Wanner, 1992; OECD, 1995b). Recently, research has begun to focus on how organizations and workers are dealing with an aging workforce (CARNET, 1996; Johnson & Zimmerman, 1993; McDaniel, 1996; Snel & Cremer, 1994; Towers Perrin, 1991; Warr & Pennington, 1993) and how restructuring is affecting the older worker (Underhill, Marshall, & Deliencourt, 1997).

Although there would seem to be a consensus that some older Canadian workers may be at a disadvantage when seeking re-employment (CLMPC, 1990; Economic Council of Canada, 1990; Schellenberg, 1994), there has been little sociological research focusing on *re-employment* among this particular group of workers. Most of the research that examines the re-employment of older workers has been as a part of a larger study on plant closings or displaced workers. While this research has indicated that there are negative effects associated with age, more frequently the effects of age, or age and gender together, on a number of variables are either not examined or else not reported, making it difficult to assess the real scope of the older worker's re-employment problems. Less research has focused on how policies and programs designed for older workers help them with labour market adjustment issues, yet these issues may be expected to take on increasing importance.

---

[1] Rife (1995) has compiled an annotated bibliography on employment and the 50+. He has 548 entries, of which only a small percentage address re-employment . His bibliography is almost exclusively confined to U.S. studies.

The re-employment of older men and women will take on added significance in the future with the aging of the labour force (Employment and Immigration Canada, 1989b; Schellenberg, 1994; Tindale, 1991; Towers Perrin, 1991) and research on older unemployed workers will take on increasingly important dimensions (Snel & Cremer, 1994). Changes taking place in the nature of employment in increasingly globalized capitalist economies may differentially affect older workers (Chaykowski, 1996; Drache, 1995; Economic Council of Canada, 1990; Warrian, 1991). Increasing numbers of economic dislocations and changes in the workplace, characteristic of those economies, are putting more and more of this age group out of work (CARNET, 1995; Doeringer, Christensen, Flynn, Hall, Katz, Keefe, et al., 1991; Economic Council of Canada, 1990; Rife, 1995). Unemployment of older workers can be expected to become more problematic in the future.

A valid concern about older workers who are displaced is that the social programs designed to deal with their situation will no longer be able to effectively handle the problem (Devereaux, 1995). The funding of Canada's social security system, especially the Canada Pension Plan, has been a longstanding and serious concern (Brown, 1987; Gee & McDaniel, 1991). Increasing the number of unemployed older workers puts additional stresses on this system. These problems are not confined to Canada; they exist in the rest of the western world (Johnson & Zimmerman, 1993; OECD, 1995a). A report on the transition from work to retirement in OECD countries identifies the financing of social security, the role of individual choice in retirement decisions, adequacy of income for older people, and lack of coherence between states' labour market policies and social security policies as concerns regarding older workers (OECD, 1995b). Perhaps no other period of history has affected the older worker as the present (McDaniel, 1997; Snel & Cremer, 1994; Standing, 1995).

Labour market adjustment programs for displaced older workers have traditionally been passive programs, usually in the form of income replacement, though some limited programs have been designed to help those displaced workers become re-employed (Hunter, 1993). While these programs have generally been criticized for not meeting the specific needs of older workers and often failing to get them back in the active labour force, some programs have been recognized as a means of helping selected older workers and other hard-to-employ persons find a job. An important factor in the formulation of policy and hence programs to assist this group lies in how the re-employment of older workers is viewed by the government. A continuing debate within policy circles is in which policy arena, discussion and assistance programs for the problem of older worker or any other disadvantaged worker group should fall. Sometimes it is viewed as falling within the arena of a labour market problem, but more frequently it is seen as falling within that of a social problem (Haddow, 1993; Hunter, 1993; OECD, 1984). Chaykowski (1996) has argued that policy development will be one of the key issues to address in helping older workers adjust to the labour market transitions that are increasingly affecting this group of workers in our new economy. It is important, therefore, to study what happens to older workers who take part in a retraining or job finding program specifically targeted at them in order to see how they fare within this program and what some policy implications might be. Of practical significance in research on this group would be to see what type of workers benefit from particular programs and why.

The Importance of Age and Gender in the Labour Market

The oldest known divisions of labour in society are based on age and gender (Marx, 1976; McLean, 1996; Rueschemeyer, 1986) and these divisions continue in the modern labour market. We know that particular age groups have special challenges when seeking employment (Fevre, 1992; Picot & Wannell, 1987; Schellenberg, 1994) and that challenges related to gender cut across all ages (Armstrong & Armstrong, 1986; Offe, 1985), suggesting that both of these attributes continue to influence labour market processes. For younger workers first time entry into the labour market after the completion of educational qualifications is a critical period (Redpath, 1991), while for older workers re-entry into the labour market after an economic dislocation is when most difficulties tend to be encountered (CARNET, 1995; Doeringer, et al., 1991; Employment and Immigration Canada, 1989a). Although many factors may account for the challenges that members of a particular age group face in seeking employment, as an individual ages a labour market transition such as seeking re-employment may be a time when *age* , in itself, becomes the defining factor in how the job seeker fares (Hutchens, 1988; Mackay & Jones, 1989). Gender may further interact with age and influence the different re-employment patterns observed among older men and women (Rife, 1995). In addition the particular labour market conditions within which the job-seeker is looking for work will affect the re-employment success of different age and gender groups (Fevre, 1992; Grayson, 1986a; Hasan & Gera, 1982; Kumar, 1991).

Importance of Political, Economic, and Social Conditions on Older Workers

The problem of re-employment among older workers is not a new phenomenon (Burnett, 1994; Hushbeck, 1989; Quadagno, 1982; Stearns, 1976; 1984). What is new are the specific changes in the political, economic, and social conditions which have taken place within the last two decades and the impact these conditions have on the older worker seeking re-employment. The late 1980s and early 1990s were times of great change in the political and economic climate in Canada determining the character of employment, the workplace, and society (Economic Council of Canada, 1990; Phillips & Phillips, 1993). In this period the emphasis of the government shifted from a concern with unemployment or getting people back to work to the deficit or how to control the growth in government spending. Cohen (1987) suggests that an "ideological package" consisting of "free trade, privatization, and deregulation" (p. 14) was put forward during this time by government as a means of regulating the labour market, or at least enabling business to take over more of what had previously been a function of government. This form of restructuring of public and private industry was unprecedented in this century in Canada and was to have profound effects on workers of all ages, however, older workers may have been affected more. Many jobs in the public sector were eliminated and a number of occupational and industrial shifts took place under these new regulatory forces. The major shifts were from employment in production of goods to production of services and within services from the public to the private domain (Myles & Fawcett, 1990).

Other shifts include changes in market forces, a shift to greater labour-saving technologies, a shift from full-time to part-time employment, a shift in employer-employee relations, a shift in how we think about work and employment, and a shift in the age and gender distribution of the labour force (Betcherman, McMullin, Leckie, & Caron, 1994; Drache, 1995; Warme, Lundy, & Lundy, 1992). As a result of all of these changes fewer workers are required to do the same amount of work, there are very high levels of unemployment, much of the employment is less secure than it once was, and age and gender have become more important in looking at how labour markets function.

Edmonton labour market. The local Edmonton labour market is a good example of a labour market undergoing enormous changes around the study period and, therefore, is a good lens through which to view older workers' re-employment experiences. The local labour market forms an important context in the examination of the labour market segmentation which occurs when older workers become re-employed. The city of Edmonton comprises almost one-third of the provincial labour force (Forecasting and Policy Development Group, 1989). Continuing after the recession of 1981 ended, the Edmonton labour market experienced a decline in employment attributable to a decrease in energy investment in the province, an overall lower investment level resulting from high interest rates and debt load, and efforts by the provincial government to decentralize the functions of the government and diversify the economy. Other changes of note during this period, in keeping with national changes, were an increase in part-time work, a shift in employment by industry, a decrease in manufacturing combined with an increase in service jobs, and a decrease in employment by larger firms with an increase in that by smaller firms. There was evidence of increasing segmentation of the local labour market with less jobs of a primary nature and more of a secondary nature.

The period under study was marked by a massive restructuring of both public and private institutions. In 1989 of the 15 major employers in the Edmonton labour market the provincial government was the largest employer, followed by the municipal government, with the federal government ranking sixth (The Labour Market Information Unit, 1990b). All three of these major employers experienced a decrease in the numbers employed by them (The Labour Market Information Unit, 1991a). Major layoffs of a permanent character also affected health care and educational workers. Private industries underwent restructuring, especially in the retail trade. It is expected that one of the results of all these changes would be increased difficulty experienced by older workers in their search for re-employment, regardless of the type of labour market assistance they obtained.

Overview of Research

The present research is a study of the re-employment success and experiences of a group of older Canadian workers attending a Canadian Jobs' Strategy program; a group of workers who have previously been identified as possibly having increased difficulty finding employment and are in need of assistance to find work.[2] The study is an exploration of social, economic, and labour market factors which at least partly determine the pattern of re-employment success and experiences of those older workers, or act as barriers to their re-employment. Labour market indicators are used to describe the local labour market within which those older workers sought employment. The research is based primarily on the records of 636 workers between the ages of 45 and 64 years, who were searching for work and were attending a JFC, in Edmonton between November 1988 and October 1992. The JFC records of these workers are supplemented by interviews with a sample of 57 of them. The interviews serve to explore more fully how these older workers saw their situation and some of the difficulties that confronted them in their search for work. Although the interviews were mainly "structured" they did permit older unemployed workers to explore and explain how they saw age and employment, what they experienced in their search for work, how their lives were affected by unemployment, and what were some of the changes they had seen in the workplace over the past five years. Additionally the interviews served to investigate political attitudes, including what these workers saw as the role of the government in helping them.

Research Purpose, Objectives, and Questions

The main purpose of the study is to explore the re-employment experiences of older men and women enroled in a federally sponsored re-employment program and to attempt to explain their situation through a study of the local labour market, job searching

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[2] The Job Finding Club (JFC) for older workers was specifically designed for individuals who were out of the work force for an extended period of time and who could be expected to experience difficulties finding a job because they lacked experience job searching, had lower educational qualifications, faced socioeconomic difficulties, or had become redundant in their previous jobs (Mills, 1987). However, workers were not screened on the basis of these characteristics and some were even accepted by self-referral.

experiences, and other social factors generally believed to affect older workers. The research objectives are to determine if increasing labour market segmentation is occurring among these older workers upon re-employment, how this relates to age and gender, to explore some of the experiences and social consequences of being an unemployed older worker, and to determine how the JFC assisted this specific group overcome some of the labour market barriers attributed to older workers. Specific research questions for this study are:

1. What is the re-employment success of older workers participating in a JFC who have lost/quit jobs or are re-entering the labour market after an absence of paid work? Does their success differ by age and gender?
2. What happens to older workers attending a JFC who become re-employed in terms of their occupational mobility and salary? Is there evidence of deskilling and loss of salary? Is there a difference by age and gender?
3. What are the job search strategies used by older workers in a JFC to find employment? How successful are they? Do these strategies differ by age and gender?
4. What is the impact of local labour market conditions on the re-employment of older workers in a labour market adjustment program such as a JFC? Do they vary by age and do they affect men and women differently?
5. What are the experiences and social consequences of being unemployed and searching for work for older workers? Are there differences by age and gender?

Theoretical and Methodological Challenges

There are a number of challenges and difficulties in studying the re-employment problems of older workers in any context. These challenges can be categorized as theoretical and methodological and present some unique challenges for the study of older workers.

The Concept of the Older Worker

One of the most fundamental difficulties is the conceptual one of defining who older workers are (Ashbaugh & Fay, 1987). There is no consistent definition of the older worker and varying ages have been used to define this group (Doeringer, et al., 1991; Laczko, 1990; McDaniel, 1996; McDonald & Chen, 1993; OECD, 1995b; Schellenberg, 1994; Statistics Canada, 1989b; Wigdor & Foot, 1988). (See Appendix A for definitions of an older worker used by governments and researchers). However, even when a specific age is used to define an older worker it is clear that the definition is generally tied more to other characteristics of a worker, or perhaps the type of work they perform, than to their chronological age. Guillemard (1991) deals with this issue by defining the problem as "occupational old age", because the definition of older workers tends to be influenced more by the type of occupation, or perhaps by the demands of the job. For example, accumulation of job demands on women working in electronic and clothing industries sometimes makes these workers "too old" for those working conditions anywhere from the age of 30 years onwards (Paoli, 1994). The variation in what may be some of the factors that influence the definition of an older worker is illustrated in a case study at a large natural gas company in Alberta, where managers ranked in descending order the importance of age, health, suitability for a particular type of work (e.g., shiftwork), eligibility for early retirement, and length of service in defining an employee as an older worker (CARNET, 1996).

Gender and age. Another problem with the conceptualization of the older worker is how gender is incorporated into the definition. Are there differences in how males and females as older workers are defined or are the differences observed conceptualized primarily as a consequence of occupational differences? A key conceptual and practical issue is do women and men become older workers at different ages? For example, we know that age for definitions of older workers and for retirement provisions in the past have differed for men and women (National Conference on the Aging, 1950; OECD, 1995a). Both these conceptual problems have methodological implications: what age(s) is to be used to define "older" in research on older workers and will that age be the same for men and women?

Theoretical Framework: Human Capital Theory

A second difficulty in studying re-employment among older workers is in the theoretical perspective used to frame the problem. Most studies have been undertaken from an economic perspective, or some variant of economic theory, such as, human capital theory (Burdett & Mortenson, 1980; Hasan & Gera, 1980; Hutchens, 1988; 1993; McCall & McCall, 1987; Shapiro & Sandell, 1987). Becker's (1993) theory of human capital was an attempt to explain the "individual" perspective and how activities he labelled investments in human capital influenced future incomes of individuals. Human capital theory has been the basis of a great deal of research on employment. Individuals are conceived of as making investments in themselves thereby acquiring human capital and these investments translate into an improved position within the labour market. The forms of investments he identified in his theory included, ". . . schooling, on-the-job training, medical care, migration, and searching for information about prices and incomes" (p. 11), with education and training generally being the most important investments individuals can make in their own 'human capital'. Women, according to this theory, tend to have less human capital accumulated because they are thought either not to spend as many years as men do in the labour market (OECD, 1985) or not to put as much effort in their labour force participation as men do (Becker, 1985); even though little empirical support exists for the latter proposition (Bielby & Bielby, 1988).

Human capital theory argues that the amount and type of human capital investment individuals make in themselves will, on average, determine how they fare in the labour market. It argues that individuals receive low or high wages based on characteristics associated with their human capital stock. Large human capital stock leads to higher wages and lower stocks lead to lower wages. When human capital theory is used to account for the poorer re-employment prospects of some older workers, it is usually done on the basis of the loss of certain abilities with age, in effect a process of human capital depreciation. For older workers depreciation is thought to occur in all aspects of human capital, yet, depreciation in a number of these aspects is not supported by research. Nevertheless, the theory has been used to explain why older workers as a group have poorer re-employment prospects and why when they do become re-employed a high degree of occupational skidding and lower wages occur (Bluestone & Harrison, 1982).

The overriding criticism of human capital theory is that it assumes that the labour market is subject to the same rules which organize other types of markets and, hence, that workers and their labour can be treated like any other commodity. The first specific criticism is the inherent assumption of human capital theory, that is, that a value/price can be placed on virtually any individual characteristic and that value/price is set unproblematically. The theory does not question how those values are set or who determines them. Instead, it is argued that these are simple economic values, not social values, and are based on the demand side of labour (Krahn & Lowe, 1993), and yet what determines demand are inherently social processes.

The second, and related, criticism of this theoretical perspective is that its entire focus is on individual characteristics affecting re-employment. Human capital theory does not take into account important political and social factors which are at least as important as individual factors in determining those workers who get jobs, as a result of their possession of a certain "human capital stock", and those who do not, and in determining the types of jobs they obtain. These broader factors are critical to consider because clearly a great part of the normal social and political process is exactly that of struggling over the relative values of different "human capital stocks" (Bourdieu, 1985, pp. 733-734).

The Inseparability of Age, Gender, Class, and Ethnicity

A third difficulty is primarily a methodological one. Most of the research does not consider "the inseparability of the accurate study of gender from that of class, ethnicity, and age" (Stimpson in the Forward to Rosen, 1987, p. vii). Researchers tend to examine these variables separately, i.e., younger workers versus older workers and men versus women, rather than considering, for example, how *older* women compare with *older* men. We know that attitudes towards age impose certain restrictions and limitations on individuals seeking employment (Institute of Personnel Management, 1993; Myles, 1989a; Palmore, 1990) and attitudes towards women have long influenced the type of paid employment a woman could expect to hold at any age (Phillips & Phillips, 1993; Pinchbeck, 1930/1969; Rosen, 1987). We know less about how age and gender act together in the labour market, yet workers are evaluated and employed on the basis of a constellation of characteristics and usually not on a single attribute (Blackburn & Mann, 1979; Fevre, 1992).

Age Barriers to Employment

Despite these conceptual and methodological difficulties there is a great deal of evidence that older workers experience a number of barriers to employment (Akyeampong, 1987b; Canada Employment and Immigration Advisory Council, 1988; Employment and Immigration Canada, 1993b). These barriers can be divided into four broad interrelated categories:

1. Individual or human capital variables, such as education, occupation (skill level and skill type), source of income, reservation wage, participation in retraining programs, job search techniques, job specific and general training, sources of income while unemployed, and occupational and geographical mobility.

2. Social/ideological factors, including factors, such as attitudes toward older workers as workers, attitudes toward retraining of older workers, attitudes toward aging, attitudes toward women, age discrimination, and lobbying efforts for older workers.
3. Government and social policies, including legislation against discrimination, assistance for unemployed older workers, retirement policies and pensions, and job training strategies for older workers.
4. Economic factors, including the state of the local economy. Included under this are factors in the economic sphere which may affect older workers, such as, the overall unemployment rate, the unemployment rate by specific age group, participation rate, number of U.I. claimants, business closures, job creation, competition between groups for jobs, and job vacancies.

Theoretical Framework: Labour Market Segmentation

In order to address the specific research questions posed the study draws on a labour market segmentation approach. According to labour market segmentation theories there are a number of clear divisions in the labour market. Certain practices and structures in the labour market result in the allocation of particular groups of people to particular sorts of jobs. Reich, Gordon, and Edwards (1973) define labour market segmentation as, "the historical process whereby political-economic forces encourages the division of labour markets into sub-markets . . . distinguished by different labour market characteristics and behaviourial rules" (p. 359). Although broad groupings of these various sectors differ according to the variant of labour market segmentation theory used, labour markets are generally considered to contain either a primary or a secondary market or markets (Edwards, 1979), or containing a well-paid, a monopoly, competitive, and a craft segment (Carnoy, 1980). The implications, however, are the same; some jobs are better than others and individuals or groups are differentially allocated to those better or worse jobs.

Characteristics of jobs like working conditions, wages, and job stability vary within these different sectors. Primary sector jobs are considered good jobs because wages are generally higher, there is a chance of advancement in the job, and there is greater stability. In contrast secondary sector jobs are considered poorer, or characterized as bad jobs, because of lower wages, little chance of advancement, and poor job stability. As a result workers in the primary sector tend to have greater continuity in employment and those who end up in the secondary labour market are generally subject to more frequent periods of unemployment or withdrawal from the labour market.

There are a number of barriers preventing individuals from obtaining employment in the primary market (Edwards, 1979; Haughton, Steve, Murphy, & Thomas, 1993). These barriers exist because segmentation into primary and secondary markets is made on the basis of factors, such as technology, skill, and characteristics of workers (Wilkinson, 1981), however, segmentation is not limited by these factors. Some workers may only have an option of employment in the secondary sector because of lack of training or preparation, while other workers may find themselves in the secondary sector essentially because there are not enough good jobs in the primary sector for everyone who is qualified and wishes to work there. The latter represent qualified workers who are underemployed. A further group of workers end up in the secondary rather than the primary sector even though there are openings within the primary market they could fill, because frequently they are discriminated against in the primary sector, often on the basis of some ascribed characteristic such as class, ethnicity, gender, or age (Fevre, 1992).

There are a number of criticisms in the literature of labour market segmentation theories (Hirsch, 1980; Hodson & Kaufman, 1982). One of the central problems stems from a lack of clarity of where the core economic sector ends and the peripheral one begins or whether or not there is some overlap between the two. Studies in the U.S. testing the segmentation hypothesis focussing on the specification of the boundaries between the primary and secondary segments have produced mixed results (Gordon, Edwards, & Reich, 1982). With work itself being redefined and labour processes undergoing fundamental changes, boundaries may be further blurred in the present labour market. A second criticism is related to the descriptive level of the theory and a lack of explanatory power. We have descriptions of the labour market segments and their characteristics, but that does not explain why certain groups of workers are disproportionately represented in the different segments. Despite these criticisms labour market segmentation theory is chosen in this study as the research approach because to a large extent older workers, particularly unemployed older workers, are seen as "secondary workers" within capitalist economies (Fevre, 1992; Offe, 1985).

The origins of the older peoples' work problems we see today can be traced to changes which took place in the development of capitalist society, the political and economic structures of that society, and how specific groups are treated within these structures (Hushbeck, 1989; Laczko & Phillipson, 1991; Myles, 1989b). More specifically, older workers' situations can be attributed to how certain groups of workers were allocated to different types of labour markets and how age operated in that segmentation process. In segmentation models of labour studies as Carnoy (1980) notes, "The primary unit of analysis is no longer the individual and his free choice, but rather groups or classes who face objectively different labour market situations which systematically . . . restricts their range of effective choices" (p. 30). Labour market segmentation theory was developed for and has been used to look at other disadvantaged groups, e.g., women and black workers in the U.S. (Baron, 1973; Buchele, 1981; Smail, 1981). The use of labour market segmentation theory as a research approach, therefore, seems most appropriate to use to study the influence of age and gender on re-employment among older workers attending a JFC in a local labour market.

Summary

In summary the goal of this research is to build upon previous theoretical and empirical work which has dealt with both age and gender in the re-employment of older workers. The study will extend our understanding in the area of labour market transitions and labour market adjustment programs by studying in some detail the attempted transition from unemployment to employment among a group of older workers in a specific program targeted at older workers. It is a detailed case study of a labour market transition of older workers attending a JFC in a time of immense political, economic, and social changes that have special implications for this group of workers. The study will, therefore, identify individual, social, political, and economic factors which may act as barriers to the labour market and the effectiveness of the JFC program in helping older workers to overcome these barriers. Lastly, although the study will contribute to an understanding of how age operates within a segmented labour market, it will also contribute to an understanding of how gender critically shapes and modifies the character of that segmentation. It is the contention of this study that we cannot treat males and females as a homogeneous group. We need to look for differences between men and women in their re-employment experiences and to explore these differences.

In the past we did not consider the older worker an important population to study when looking at re-employment. More emphasis was placed on younger age groups. The majority of research on older workers tended to focus on exit from the labour market in the form of retirement. However, with the social and economic changes which are taking place in Canada and the world today there will inevitably be an increasing emphasis on this group of workers in the labour market. Researchers have only begun to examine how business and industry are dealing with, and will deal with, the aging workforce. The problem of worker displacement is expected to continue and older workers will increasingly be affected by this phenomenon. Unless creative strategies can be implemented to find a place for the growing number of unemployed older workers new social problems will inevitably emerge. In the past the creation of "welfare approaches" in the form of public and private pensions with early retirement provisions were the usual methods by which the state and employers dealt with the problem of displaced older workers. Strains on these pension systems and an ability to sustain them can be expected to decrease the recourse to this option in the foreseeable future. More recently labour market adjustment programs designed for older unemployed workers assist them with re-employment, although polices designed to assist them in these efforts have generally not been studied or theorized to any great extent.

There is both a practical and a theoretical significance to this study. The practical significance is to find out what is happening to a group of older workers looking for employment and supported by a state designed labour market adjustment program, while the theoretical significance is to be found in an explanation of that situation. In keeping with both an analytical and descriptive approach to re-employment among older workers, chapter two is review of the literature which focuses on older workers and their re-employment experiences. It is a comprehensive review of how age and gender affect the re-employment of older workers and how individual, social, political, and economic factors contribute to and shape older workers' difficulties. A special focus of the chapter is how the government has attempted to deal with older workers through labour market adjustment programs. Chapter three is a detailed description of the methodology used in the study. Two important contexts for the study are described; the JFC and the local labour market. The findings are divided into the next two chapters. Chapter four contains the findings related to the re-employment of the 636 older workers who attended the JFC. It is a description of how the workers fared with their job search at the end of the JFC and at a three month follow-up. Re-employment success is explored by age and gender. Chapter five contains the findings from the structured interviews with 57 JFC members exploring some of the experiences and social consequences of being unemployed and seeking re-employment. It is a description of the experience of the unemployed older workers and what they saw as shaping these experiences. Chapter six is the conclusion and recommendations for further research.

CHAPTER 2

A LITERATURE REVIEW OF OLDER WORKERS AND RE-EMPLOYMENT

> *Compared with the youth problem, the "age problem" of unemployment has been almost neglected. In specific cases it is easy to see that advancing age has been responsible for original discharge or later inability to find a new job, but the situation as a whole is much less simple than it may appear.*
>
> *Canadians In and Out of Work.*
> (Marsh, 1940, pp. 315-316).

The situation of older workers today is no less complex than it was in 1940, when Marsh published his classic study on employment and unemployment in Canada (Mitchell, 1993; OECD, 1995a). A study of re-employment of older workers in a particular labour market adjustment program such as a Job Finding Club (JFC) poses a number of challenges, not the least of which is *how* to explain what is happening to them as they attempt to become re-employed or to re-enter the labour market. Since the main theoretical interest of this study is how age and gender intersect and interact to produce the re-employment patterns of older workers attending a JFC in a local labour market, this chapter is an exploration of why re-employment may be problematic for this group of workers and why they may increasingly find themselves in the secondary labour market. A detailed examination of older workers and their re-employment difficulties helps to explain why a JFC approach may, or may not, be the optimal means of assisting this group find a job.

The literature is reviewed within a broad framework, as it is acknowledged that the state through specific labour market policies, employers through their hiring policies, societal attitudes, historical development which has shaped our beliefs and practices, and to a great extent the older workers, themselves, all contribute to the re-employment patterns that may be observed among this group. Accordingly in this chapter is an attempt to examine as many of the factors as possible which have an impact on re-employment success for older workers.

The context of the political, historical, economic and social forces which have affected older workers is fundamental to research on them and to the problems that many experience in looking for work. Myles (1991) notes the importance of these factors in understanding the social group identified as the elderly, "... the social, legal and political constituency we call the elderly was created and given form by social, political and economic forces" (p. 120). We can extend Myles's generalization to the group we identify as the older worker and through an examination of the interplay between these various forces impinging on this group in the labour market understand their re-employment situation better. It is because of the complexity of older workers' labour market difficulties that we may need to consider a variety of approaches in helping them find a job.

The Labour Market

Capitalism can be conceived of as a series of markets within which different sorts of commodities are bought and sold. One of the defining characteristics of capitalism is that labour is commodified, and therefore, unlike precapitalist systems, one of those markets is the "labour market"; a market with institutions and practices peculiar to it and determined by the general logic of capitalist markets. A labour market, therefore, refers broadly, "... to the institutions and practices that govern the purchase, sale and therefore part of the pricing of labour services" (Kalleberg & Berg, 1987, p.48). Labour markets are where commodified labour, including workers' labour power, creative abilities, and loyalties are sold. In return for their labour workers receive wages, sometimes status, and other non-market rewards from their employers (Krahn & Lowe, 1993). In a capitalist society individuals are directly involved in labour market exchanges, either as employers or workers, with their relationships more or less modified and conditioned by the main formal organizations, such as unions, associations, businesses, and governments, regulating to varying degrees, these markets (Offe, 1985). The institutions and practices governing the labour market are complex because they have both formal or official, and informal or unofficial aspects, both of which are socially and culturally modified and conditioned (Heilbroner & Milberg, 1995; Solow, 1990).

Labour Market Segmentation

We talk about "the labour market" in capitalist economies, but in reality there are a number of different markets or at least market segments. Different groups of workers are allocated to work in these different markets or segments on the basis of certain criteria. Although the idea of "non-competing" markets is not new in the economic literature, it was not until the 1950s in an attempt to analyze more realistically labour allocation and then further in the 1960s in an attempt to understand the continuation of poverty in the midst of economic development, that segmented labour market theory was developed (Smail, 1981; Wilkinson, 1981). Since that time economists and sociologists have used this theoretical orientation to explore the labour market outcomes for selected workers.

Labour market segmentation occurs when, "the labour market or labour process is divided into separate submarkets or subprocesses, or segments, distinguished by different characteristics, behavioral rules, and working conditions" (Edwards, Reich, & Gordon, 1973, p. xi). Early theorists described the labour market as having two sectors, a primary sector with two tiers, upper and lower, and a secondary sector (Piore, 1973). The primary sector came to be identified with jobs in the "core" firms in the economy, while the secondary sector encompassed jobs within "peripheral" firms. The distinguishing features between these two sectors are mainly in the difference in the quality of jobs and the type of groups of individuals who are concentrated in the different sectors. Primary sector employment is characterized as being well-paying, stable, and with a chance of promotion through internal labour markets. In contrast employment in the secondary sector is characterized as being poorly paid, unstable, and containing no promotions. Labour market segmentation theorists have consistently reported the overrepresentation of women and ethnic groups in the secondary labour market. This situation is explained by structural barriers that restrict the entry of selected workers to primary sectors and also limit the movement from secondary sectors to primary sectors among potentially qualified workers (Krahn & Lowe, 1993). It is through labour market processes that we are able to examine the role that labour markets can play in segmenting workers, because as Edwards (1979) indicated, "labour markets constitute the principal means of segmenting the working class, because it is through labour market processes that workers are hired into their various jobs" (p. 164).

Labour market processes. Fevre's (1992) conceptualization of the abstract labour market divides this market into five distinct processes involving a relationship between employer and potential employee. These processes are termed *informing employers*, *informing workers*, *screening workers*, *screening employers*, and the *offer* to buy or sell labour. These processes are not necessarily sequential and may occur simultaneously. The basis of these labour market exchanges is founded on power relations, which in most instances give distinct advantages to purchasers of rather than the suppliers of labour. Almost without exception the balance of power is on the side of employers. The more vulnerable the group from which the employee comes the less power she or he has to exert, or in the language of the market the less she or he has to "offer" a potential employer, which is often thought the case for the older worker. The formal organizations are mediums through which certain rules and regulations modifying labour market exchange are negotiated or imposed, however, attitudes, opinions, and values in society have an effect on workers and employers in labour market exchanges. A labour market exchange takes place on an individual level and it is at this level that the effects of rules and regulations are seen on employment and re-employment.

The individual and the labour market. As any person who has tried to get a job realizes that even though a particular labour market exchange takes place on an individual level, i.e., a particular worker seeks a specific job with an identified employer, there are also external factors which influence that individualized exchange. In some situations potential workers may find themselves subject to certain restrictions that are not solely related to them as individuals, rather related to characteristics ascribed to them as members of a particular group. The employer in considering an employee not only evaluates the individual characteristics of the worker, but characteristics of the group from which the worker comes. These ascribed group characteristics form boundaries for workers in the labour market. Fevre (1992) refers to these boundaries as "territories" and further explains that because of how they affect individual lives, ". . . we must also try to understand the systematic basis of real labour market territories like locality, occupation, gender, "race" and age" (p. 18). Offe (1985) refers to the same ascribed characteristics as "labour market risks" and indicates their importance in explaining why there is "distinctively *structured* [his emphasis] unemployment which affects different groups in a highly differentiated manner" (p. 11). Blackburn and Mann (1979) refer to these same characteristics as "screening devices" which are based on the assumption that readily observable aspects or information, for example race, sex, age, or previous job history, can act as indicators of certain abilities or lack of ability of a worker for a job. What these factors signify are labour market barriers or " a requirement that is unrelated to actual or potential performance" (OECD, 1979, p. 16).

When a person is looking for employment a labour market barrier may affect any of the labour market processes. Barriers may be operative in recruitment, in screening, or in selecting an applicant. These are classified as pre-employment barriers and a number of them are well recognized. Haughton, Johnson, Murphy, and Thomas (1993) identify five major categories of labour market barriers. The first one is education and training and the authors demonstrate a number of ways this may disadvantage a worker. The second is employment practices or conditions which mitigate against someone applying for a job. The third category is recruitment practices and covers all the various forms of discrimination. The fourth is non-labour market service provision including services that make employment possible, such as child or elder care. The fifth one is housing and this contains a number of factors like affording housing or even being stigmatised by an address in the case of low cost housing (pp. 14-15).

Age in the Labour Market

Two key issues relating to age in the labour market are: 1) how important is age as a labour market risk or a screening device for re-employment, and 2) does increasing segmentation of labour occur when older workers become re-employed. Most of the evidence comes form plant closing or displacement studies which usually have a high proportion of older workers simply by the nature of the industries that close. Findings suggest that many of these workers upon re-employment end up in a job of a secondary nature. When a plant closes or relocates as opposed to a work slowdown older workers, at least those 55 years and older, are much more likely to permanently lose a job than younger workers (Harris, 1987). Many of these closings are in "mature" industries that have an age structure which favours having a greater number of older worker, either through longevity on the job, i.e., a long job tenure, or alternatively, union policies at their workplace which had been somewhat protective of the older worker (Underhill, et al., 1997). As a consequence there is usually a higher percentage of older workers in these plants. Additionally if relocation of workers occurs the process favours younger workers over their older counterparts.

Gender in the Labour Market

There is no shortage of literature on the question of the importance of gender on labour market activity and structure. Likewise there is no shortage of evidence for gender being important in different segments of the labour market (Armstrong & Armstrong, 1986; Gunderson, Muszynski, & Keck, 1990; Phillips & Phillips, 1993). Gender has long been a screening devise both for getting a job and the type of job a person gets, and as such shares many similarities with age. One of the obvious similarities is as a basis of discrimination. Just as age has acted as a barrier to certain types of employment, so has gender. Walby (1990) identifies the important empirical questions for employment and gender relations at any age as, "Why do women typically earn less than men? Why do women engage in less paid work than men? Why do women do different jobs than men?" (p. 250).

The occupational structure in Canada provides ample evidence of gender as a factor in paid employment (Kumar, Arrowsmith, & Coates, 1991). In 1986 there were 55 female dominated occupations; occupations with 70% or more women. In contrast in the same year and using the same percentage there were 288 occupations that would be considered male-dominated. An examination of changes in the rate of participation of Canadian women in the professional occupations from 1981-1986 shows distinct gender differences (Marshall, 1989). Women as a percentage of the total employment in male-dominated professions had increased in 33 of the 34 professions, which were considered male-dominated in 1971, albeit with modest gains in most of these professional occupations. As a result of shifts in the ratio of women to men employed in a profession only three professional occupations were no longer officially considered male-dominated in 1986. However, 26 of the 34 professional occupations which were male dominated in 1981 had not changed their status. Furthermore in 10 of the occupations listed women make up less than 10% of all the people employed. Further evidence of gender as a factor in labour market activity and structure can be found in union participation. In Canada women generally have lower participation rates than men (Sen, 1994). Since unionized jobs generally represent better working conditions this means fewer women have access to these types of jobs than men.

Age and Gender in Re-employment Research

Some of the re-employment research on plant closures and worker displacement suggests that age and gender together are labour market risks. Accordingly this section presents research which reports on re-employment success and addresses these characteristics. The emphasis is on Canadian studies, however, a number of U.S. studies are included in the review.

Plant closures. In the early 1980s, particularly in Ontario, a number of manufacturing plants closed or relocated displacing large numbers of older workers. Many of those displaced had long job tenures and were in relatively well-paying jobs. Follow-up studies of these workers give some indication of what happened to these individuals when they sought re-employment. The Canadian Admiral plant closed in Cambridge, Ontario in 1981 displacing 450 men and women and Burke (1985) administered a questionnaire 16 months after the closure to 185 displaced men and 22 displaced women to see how they had fared. The average age of the subjects was 41 years, 31.2% were over 45 years of age, therefore, he had a high percentage of older workers in his study. Three-quarters of the workers had job tenures of between 6-15 years with Admiral and the same proportion were relatively unskilled. At the time of the survey, 42% were re-employed. A number of periods of post-displacement unemployment were not uncommon affecting as many as 89% of those re-employed. Overall there was a loss of salary with re-employment jobs. Over 70% of the re-employed, which included all of the women, were earning less than they had in their previous jobs.

A case study in Hamilton, Ontario by Kramar (1984) was used to follow up 39 displaced, blue-collar, male workers after a plant closure at Consolidated Bathurst, a company manufacturing corrugated containers. The company closed in 1983 putting its total workforce out of work. His particular research interest was the impact that this economic dislocation had on 20 older workers (45-64 years) whom he compared with a random sample of 19 younger workers (25-44 years). His main finding was that 71% of younger workers had found a job compared with 42% of the older workers. Attribution of the cause of failing to become re-employed differed by age. Older workers chiefly attributed their failure to age discrimination, while younger people were more likely to blame the economy. Older workers were more likely to reject retraining (75%), mainly because they claimed that they were too old to benefit from retraining, whereas no younger worker ruled out the possibility of retraining. The older workers were also less likely to consider occupational mobility as an option. Among those 45 years or older 58.3% said they would consider a job that was not in the occupation that they previously held, as compared with 80% of workers under 45 years, who would consider changing occupations.

Grayson (1985) examined the effects of age on re-employment in a study of 310 worker displaced from SKF Canada Ltd., a producer of bearings. Most of the workers were men, 85%, about 20% classified as skilled tradesmen, 40% semi-skilled, 25% unskilled, and 15% office workers. Since the average age was 48 years and average job tenure 18 years, there were a number of older workers represented in this research. He found a statistically significant difference between age of the employee and perceived chance of employment; the older the worker the less good he/she felt his/her chances were. Age and skill influenced anticipated length of unemployment. Both older workers and unskilled workers felt they would be out of work longer. Grayson found that age, gender, and skill level accounted for little difference in re-employment success at most survey periods, although as he indicated respondents felt it made a difference. They related incidents of potential employers and Canadian Employment and Immigration Commission (CEIC) counsellors commenting negatively on age. Labour market conditions were the most important factor in re-employment. Lower unemployment rates were associated with higher re-employment and the converse was true. Periods of low unemployment highlighted some of the effects of age and gender on finding a job. During a period of improved economic conditions older workers had slightly less of a chance of re-employment, as did women. Skilled workers also did better in finding a job. Post-displacement jobs resulted in lower wages and skill levels for many of the workers; 54% were using less skills than their previous job at SKF.

Grayson (1986a) combined the data from the study just described with data from two other plant closures in Ontario. He examined the effects of age, gender, and level of education on net re-employment, wages, and de-skilling of workers who lost jobs when three processing plants closed. Other plants in the study besides SKF were Canada General Electric (CGE), which manufactured heavy electrical generating equipment and closed in 1984 affecting over 400 employees and Black and Decker, a manufacturing and assembly plant for small household appliances, which closed in 1985 and eliminated approximately 600 jobs. The first two industries were located in Scarborough and the latter in Barrie. The workforce of the plants varied by skill level. CGE had the most highly skilled workforce, while Black and Decker had the least skilled. No breakdown was given for educational level, age, or gender of the overall workforce of the plants. The research consisted of three case studies which used surveys to collect data. Re-employment rates in full-time jobs at three months were low; 8% for Black and Decker and approximately 30% for the other two plants. Age was not found to be significant for the Black and Decker workers, but younger workers from CGE and SKF were generally more successful than older workers. Gender made a difference for Black and Decker and SKF workers but not for CGE workers; a higher percentage of men than women were re-employed from the first two plants. Education was not a predictor of getting a job for any of the plant workers. Using a deskilling index based on the worker's perception of skill change, Black and

Decker's displaced workers reported that skills stayed the same upon re-employment, but massive deskilling occurred for the two other groups, regardless of age, gender, or educational level. Workers from the three plants had lower wages in their new jobs as compared with their pre-displacement jobs. Men and younger workers tended to find new jobs with less loss of pay.

More recent studies confirm these same trends in re-employment among older workers. In a study on survival of rural communities and the impact of economic restructuring in Ontario, Winson and Leach (1995) examined the impact of three plant closures on 68 plant workers in North Wellington County. At the time of the interviews, 24 (35%) were without work, 7 (10.3%) said they were retired, and 37 (54.4%) had found a job. Age was found to be a significant factor among the unemployed; 58% of those unemployed were over 50 years old. Women were also less likely to find a job. Those who did find a job reported decreased annual salaries and poorer working conditions. Women had greater decreases in hourly wages than men. Most of the older workers who found a job obtained part-time employment or a limited term job, e.g., 6 week contract.

Studies of displaced workers. Surveys on larger numbers of displaced workers from a variety of job settings both in Canada and the U.S. have produced similar findings on re-employment among older workers. Picot and Wannell (1987) conducted a special survey as a supplement to the Labour Force Survey in 1986 on re-employment among displaced Canadian workers who lost their jobs between 1981 and 1984. They specifically wished to examine which workers were most likely to lose their jobs, in which occupations and industries, what were the re-employment rates, how long did it take to find work, did the re-employed workers experience occupational mobility, what were the salary changes among this group, and who retrained or relocated in order to find a new job.

They devised a "hazard ratio" for job loss and calculated it for various groups. A hazard ratio of 1.0 was equivalent to the national average. Overall older workers, 45-54 years and 55+, had a hazard ratio of 0.7 suggesting they had a lower chance of losing their jobs. However, in industries such as construction, mining, and certain types of manufacturing, where greater numbers of older workers were employed, there were higher job losses among this older group. Older workers were less likely to lose their jobs than younger workers, but once they did they had more problems than younger workers finding a job. They had a greater length of job search, an average duration of 33 weeks for workers aged 55 and over compared with 19 weeks for those between the ages of 15 and 24. Furthermore by 1986 as many as 42% of these older workers who lost a job had withdrawn from the labour market either through retirement or in becoming a discouraged worker. Older workers were also much less likely to take part in retraining or to relocate to find a new job. Those who did become re-employed had above average pay cuts.

Gender differences were noted. Women had slightly lower job-loss hazard ratios than men, but were less likely to find a new job, especially a full time job. Their average time looking for work at 20.9 weeks was less than for men at 24.5 weeks. Women were also less likely to relocate, but more likely to participate in retraining than men. The percentage of women who earned less in their new job was smaller than that of men so their average salary loss was lower than the men's, however, their average weekly wage in their last job was only 62.6% of what the men had earned.

Picot and Pyper (1993) examined permanent layoffs of Canadian workers and their subsequent re-employment. They studied how such layoffs varied over the business cycle. They used two data sources, first, the administrative data from Employment and Immigration and Revenue Canada describing worker separations between 1978 and 1988, and second, the Labour Market Activity Survey (LMAS) for the period between 1988 and 1990. The two industries with the highest rates of permanent lay-offs were forestry and mining. Small firms accounted for more of the permanent lay-offs than did large firms. Temporary lay-offs were a prominent feature of the 1981-82 recession and were more important at that period than permanent lay-offs. Of the persons laid-off from a permanent full-time job in 1988, at a one year follow-up men were re-employed at a higher rate than were women. Re-employment was highest in business services and lowest in distributive services, and low in forestry and mining. It was highest for those 45-54 years and lowest for those 55-64, and highest for those with university education, and lowest for those with less than high school education.

Historically recessionary periods have always seemed to produce a higher rate of displacement among older workers (Keyssar, 1986). Researchers are now beginning to look at what happens to these workers in more recent recessions. Lauzon (cited in OPTIONS 45+, 1996c) a policy researcher with Human Resources Development Canada (HRDC) reviewed displaced older workers' re-employment activities between 1988-1991. He found that among older workers there was little industrial sector change after displacement. An exception to this was women who readily moved into jobs in service and trade. Older displaced workers experienced a moderate amount of job instability. Up to one-third of the older workers studied had six or more layoffs in the previous ten years and the same proportion had two or less during the same period.

Morrison (cited in OPTIONS 45+, 1996b) a senior policy analyst with HRDC examined job loss among three groups of older workers. The groups consisted of those who lost their job when an employer relocated, those laid off seasonally or permanently, and those who quit their jobs. Workers were divided into "younger" older workers, those between 45-54, and an older group, 55-64 years. She found that the younger older workers experienced the highest job loss when employers closed their businesses as more in the older group would have an option of early retirement. The reason for job loss affected the adjustment experience of the older group of workers more. Those permanently laid-off had a 77% success rate while those displaced had a 48% success rate. There was also a difference in job search methods used. The younger group relied more heavily on HRDC centres while the older workers used personal networks more.

U.S. displacement studies. The findings from Canadian studies on older workers are congruent with some of the U.S. plant closing research and displacement studies. The trends are for a number of older displaced workers to withdraw from the labour market in the form of early retirement, and for those who become re-employed, particularly blue-collar workers of all ages, to have marked declines in income, status, and seniority. They also tend to experience more difficulty becoming re-employed than younger workers. Flaim and Sehgal (1985) focused on displaced workers in the United States, over the period 1979-1983, in which 11.5 million workers, 20 years and older, lost jobs through displacement. Older workers, defined as 55 years and older, were overrepresented among the displaced workers and compared less favourably on re-employment rates; 21% for those 65 years and older, 41% for those in the 55-64 year old group, 65% for those between 25-54 years, and 70% for those 20-24 year old group. Another area where older workers compared less favourably than their younger counterparts was in salary changes. Losses in salary upon re-employment were more common among the 55 and older group than in any other age group.

Based on data from the National Longitudinal Survey (NLS) Shapiro and Sandell (1987) focused on the labour market experiences of older men, 45-59 years, who had been displaced from their jobs between 1966 and 1978. They looked at both post-displacement wages and occupations. While there were both wage losses and gains, losses were more common. Most of the losses, nearly 90%, could be attributed to the fact that workers had changed occupations and thus lost the transferability of their firm-specific skills and knowledge. Occupation was an important variable in post-displacement employment. Relatively high occupational stability was found among craftsmen and sales workers, while the least stable occupations were clerical workers, service workers, and managers. The authors also compared the group of displaced older workers to a representative sample of older men, not displaced. Disproportionately represented among the displaced workers were black men, older workers (45-54 years), the poorly educated, those working in construction, individuals with short job tenures (5 years or less), and those who had earned either low or high wages.

Are displaced older workers more vulnerable to negative changes upon re-employment than workers who chose to change their job? Markey and Parks (1989) using the supplement to the January 1987 U.S. Current Population Survey (CPS), examined this question. They compared the patterns of re-employment of workers who made voluntary occupational changes versus those who were forced into involuntary changes, i.e., displaced workers. They studied the characteristics of both voluntary and involuntary job leavers to see how job leaving affected occupational change. Age was important to occupational mobility; younger workers were more mobile than older ones. Displaced workers depending on the reason for displacement were more frequently forced into new occupations. Almost 50% of the displaced workers who had lost their jobs and were re-employed were in an occupation different from the one they had left. Not surprisingly, lower pay in the new job occurred more often following an involuntary occupational change. Displaced workers seem to have more negative effects than those who quit their jobs.

One of the consequences of job displacement is that older workers become discouraged in their search for work. Within the discouraged workers there are two distinct groups; those who "could find no work" versus those who "believe no work is available" (Stevans, Register, & Grimes, 1987). The former actively search for work for longer time periods than the latter. There are age and gender differences between the two groups. Older women more frequently end up in the "believe no work is available" category and are discouraged for personal reasons, such as age, i.e., "employers think them too old". In contrast older men may be more frequently represented in the category "could find no work". In an exploratory study on the unemployment experiences of older discouraged American workers, Rife and First (1989) studied 73 individuals (37 males and 36 females) who were 50 years and over. These workers generally perceived age, or factors relating to age, as barriers to their re-employment. Over two-thirds (67%) of these respondents felt they were unemployed because of their age and employers' negative attitudes toward older workers' skills and almost one-half (42%) believed they were discriminated against in applying for a job. No gender differences were reported for their subjects.

Hutchens (1993) proposed a theory called "restricted job opportunities" as an explanatory model for older workers' re-employment patterns. According to this theory different jobs possess different lengths of "required job duration" defined as the employer's assessment of how long they would expect the person hired for the job to stay with the job. A skilled manufacturing job would have a long required job duration because of the skills training requirements, while a fast food service job would have a short required job duration. Older workers would tend to be excluded from jobs with longer required job durations leading to more restricted job opportunities for them when seeking work. He hypothesized that older workers will find new jobs in occupations with short job durations, less desirable working conditions, e.g., lower wages and absence of health insurance, or in the secondary job market and be less likely to find a job in the same occupation and industry from which they were displaced. To test his hypotheses he used a sub-sample of 1,226 males aged 30-59 years from the January 1988 U.S. Survey of Displaced Workers, covering workers who had been displaced from jobs over the period 1983-88. Workers aged 45 years and over made up 32.6% of the sample. Hutchens devised a job index for various occupations in industries based on a projected employer's minimum required job duration and assigned these to each subject's pre- and post-displacement jobs. His main findings were that older workers experienced greater joblessness. The overall unemployment rate for the sample was 19.85%, 22% for men aged 40-44 years, and 36% for those 55-59 years. For those who managed to find jobs older workers were more likely to find jobs in their pre-displacement occupations and industries and not end up in jobs of short job duration, however, they were much more likely to end up in jobs with much lower wages than they earned previously. Controlling for education and pre-displacement occupation and industry, he found the post-displacement weekly wages of older workers to be 49% lower than those for 40-45 year olds who found a job. While he believed there was not widespread support for his hypothesis, he did find that the unemployment rate increased with age suggesting older workers have more difficulty finding employment because of age.

Re-employment of older women. While age has been shown to be a factor in re-employment among older workers gender has been less well studied. In a gender analysis of the literature examining how well older women are represented in studies on work and retirement, David (1994) concluded that women are represented in about 20% of the studies and that they receive less attention in the ones in which they are included with men. A few studies located focused on women and included older women. One study tested the theory that women's re-entrance to the labour force is accompanied by a period of unemployment (Jones, 1983). Data for the study came from the 1971-1972 American NLS and was restricted to those who could be classified as re-entrants. Younger female workers were defined as being between 20 and 28 years (274), while older workers were between 35 and 49 years (528). In her model Jones had four determinants of re-entrant unemployment; a) access to labour market information, b) acceptance wage, c) average of the distribution of market wage applicable to the subject, and d) search plans. The independent variables she employed were education, professional certification, years of work experience, marital status, the presence and age of children in the home, migration, potential market wage, husband's earnings, race, health limitations, unemployment rate in the area, and prior intentions to seek work. A model was constructed around these variables and probit analysis was used to estimate the model. For 35% of the older women re-entrance to the labour market was accompanied by a period of unemployment, compared with 36.7% for younger women. Older women who had a higher educational level, more work experience, greater access to labour market information, and who also had search plans, significantly reduced their chances of remaining unemployed, while for younger women the variables that were significant in reducing chances of remaining unemployed were having a certificate in a profession, work experience, number of children at home, being white, and migration. The latter finding suggests personal characteristics, or perhaps, how they are evaluated by an employer are important.

Rosen's (1987) study on plant closing likewise focused on women. It was an exploratory study of 233 blue-collar, married women working in factories in New England. She identified and compared three groups of married women: Portuguese women (68), older American-born women (92), and younger American-born women (73) to "demonstrate how working-class women's situation structures their opportunities, choices, and attitudes" (p. 7). Part of her study was to look at layoffs among 142 of these women who were displaced from their jobs and their subsequent re-employment. Most of the displaced women found work (77%) without lengthy periods of unemployment; 53% were recalled to their old jobs while 47% found new jobs. A high percentage of women found jobs similar to their pre-displacement job. No significant difference by group was noted among those recalled to their previous job, but this was not so for new jobs. For those finding new jobs Portuguese women were most successful (84%), followed by older women (69%), and lastly by younger women (31%). Younger American-born women were more likely to say they refused a job offer with a lower rate of pay than the other two groups, which may account somewhat for the above findings. Women finding new jobs all received significantly lower salary in these new jobs than they had in their old jobs.

Perrucci, Perrucci, and Targ (1997) specifically looked at gender differences among plant workers in Indiana who were affected by displacement. They compared selected economic, psychological, and social effects on 215 workers from three plant closures shortly after the closure and one year post-displacement. Women comprised two-thirds of the respondents and were similar to the men on such characteristics as age (mean age 41 years), marital status, and job tenure at the plants. Women though were less well educated. Men and women's re-employment success at one year follow-up was not significantly different, nor were changes in the skill level of their new jobs when compared with their pre-displacement job. Both lost in hourly wages. Although women lost less than men their pre-displacement hourly wage had been lower. The women did report greater economic distress as measured by cutbacks in different areas of spending, but had similar levels of depression. Women did express less confidence in social institutions, for example, government and unions, and were more in favour of government intervention in unemployment. The research results were somewhat at variance with other studies examining the economic effects of plant closings on women. It is important to consider that the earlier research had occurred within the context of a recession and Perrucci and his co-researchers conducted this study when the economy was expanding, thus illustrating the importance of labour market conditions on re-employment and gender.

While there is a long history of older men having problems with unemployment and re-employment (Stearns, 1975; 1976), historically the question of age and gender in relation to unemployment has been largely unexplored until recently (Burnett, 1994; Keyssar, 1986; Pelling & Smith, 1991). Keyssar noted that among shoe makers in Massachusetts in the 1800s where unemployment was fairly equally spread among all age groups, older women were less likely to be laid off than were younger women, or men of different ages, but that, "this compassion for older women, if indeed it did exist, did not extend to the hiring of new workers" (p. 399). Once older women became unemployed it was very difficult for them to get a new job.

The Importance of Social Class and Age

The beginnings of the older worker as a distinct socio-economic category and as a social problem appear to be of fairly recent historical origin (Minois, 1987). While the origins are related to age and the relation of age to work, it is more a feature of a particular mode of production, i.e., capitalism, than age *per se*, although it is frequently presented as the latter. It is this conflation of age alone with an older worker problem that has created some of the confusion surrounding the theoretical issues in this area and has limited the discussion of class in relation to the older worker. One of the limitations in tracing the historical origin of the "older worker" was that old age itself was a poorly defined concept as Stewart indicated, "In an era before statistical uniformity had been imposed by measures such as mandatory retirement and pensions, old age was an unspecific concept, based to a large extent on a subjective assessment of individual infirmity" (1992, p. 223). It is only in the past couple of decades that the study of age and what constitutes "old" age has been given systematic attention (Achenbaum, 1978; Cole, 1992; Pelling & Smith, 1991) thus making a study of age and employment a more circumscribed area of study.

Early arguments for the creation of an older worker problem often centred on the material conditions of the person's work, however, the fact of being "used up" or relegated to the "industrial scrapheap" within a capitalist economy was and is a class as much as a physiological phenomenon (Quadagno, 1982; Stearns, 1976). The economic fact of workers being "worn out", too slow, or not up to date is primarily a function of the relations of production, i.e., class. In many instances wage labourers are only worn out because under capitalism workers sell their labour and if the capitalist can get more labour for his wage payments from a younger, fitter worker, then the capitalist will do so. In contrast, old age seemed not to be a barrier to those in professional occupations, in government, and administrative positions. In fact there was a longstanding tradition that in these occupations age was equated with wisdom:

> The second of those causes or circumstances [regulating subordination, as is necessary to civil government] is the superiority of age. An old man, provided his age is not so far advanced as to give suspicion of dotage, is everywhere more respected than a young man of equal rank, fortune, and abilities. . . . Age is a plain and palpable quality which admits of no dispute. (Adam Smith as quoted in Heilbroner, 1986, pp.294-295)

However, what marked all of these professions as professions was that they did not operate within capitalist relations of production, but instead were carry-overs from pre-capitalist guild structures. While those working within the British civil service, especially at the time that Smith was writing, were not working within capitalist relations of production, capitalist wage relations may have influenced their character.

The importance of social class to the phenomenon of older workers is important to consider. Certain groups of older workers are not represented, or at least easily identified, among displaced older workers, or unemployed older workers in general, therefore, the question of the importance of class is difficult to assess. Wedderburn (1975) observed more than two decades ago, "From middle age onward there are emerging groups, who because of class position, the possession of technical skills in short supply, inherited wealth or the possession of power during working life are able to extract rights which protect against redundancy and the vissitudes of retirement. They will emerge as the relatively privileged" (p. 241).

Fewer studies on older workers and re-employment explicitly deal with the issue of social class. Most of the studies cited above on plant closings and worker displacement tend to focus on the workers and relatively little is reported about the managers or supervisors in these plants. Not many recent studies were located which dealt with unemployed professionals and which included the effects of age. In the early 1980s

Leventman (1981) studied professionals in the U.S. who had their lost jobs and were looking for employment. She found that age appeared to be the greatest barrier to becoming re-employed with 31% of the men who were older than 45 years at first layoff not finding jobs. For many of those in this older age group who did find jobs, the new jobs were in lower level positions than the ones they previously held, or alternatively, those jobs found at the same level were temporary positions. Knowledge obsolescence and the stigma of unemployment were the two perceived barriers these unemployed older professionals identified in looking for work. Her findings seem to parallel work done on plant workers.

Similarly around the same time Kaufman (1982) studied a group of unemployed professionals who were searching for a job. While age was relatively unimportant among the larger group of 137, among the group identified as older workers age was perceived as a barrier to finding work. Other barriers to re-employment success these older unemployed professional workers identified were a previous high salary, high qualifications, being unemployed for too long, and a reluctance to relocate. The first three led employers to evaluate them more negatively and the last limited them in their search for work. Another finding from the study was that older women professionals had more difficulty finding a job than their male counterpart; a finding the author attributed to both gender and age discrimination operating together.

The third study which explicitly included social class was a report from an employment counselling firm which tracked the success of their clientele. An outplacement and employment counselling firm, Drake Beam Morin, conducted a survey in 1993 of Albertans who had recently lost a job (Hryciuk, 1994). The emphasis in their report was on how people found jobs, but they also included type of employment found. The people in their study came from both private- and public-sector jobs within three main groupings; Group I - senior managers and executives, Group II - middle-level managers and professionals, and Group III - office workers, support staff, and others. Age and gender of the people studied were not reported. Regardless of grouping most found new work through "networking"[1], and this was highest for Group I at 67%, next for Group III at 57%, and lowest for Group II at 54%. Senior managers and executives were also more likely to find a job through newspaper ads; 17% as compared with 7% for both middle-level managers and professionals, and office workers and support staff. Group III were more likely to find work through self-employment, 39%, followed by Group I, 35%, and lastly Group II, 20%. In each group an equal percentage found jobs in large and small organizations. It was only among the office and support workers that there was a high percentage of workers retiring; 15%. Class seems to be relatively understudied in the re-employment experiences of older workers.

Individual Factors Affecting Older Workers and Re-employment

Why do older workers have longer periods of unemployment and more difficulty becoming re-employed than younger workers? According to the labour market segmentation theorist Edwards (1973) the answer lies in the institutional arrangements governing production that helps, "to understand the labour market processes which produce group differences in incomes, unemployment, and mobility" (p. 4). However, it is usually not these institutional arrangements that are explored when older workers difficulties are identified; the focus has been on individual characteristics. Chief among the difficulties reported are a lack of or poor job search skills, obsolete skills coupled with lack of retraining and lower educational levels, and low levels of mobility, both geographical and occupational (CARNET, 1995; CLMPC, 1990; Economic Council of Canada, 1990; Employment and Immigration Canada, 1989b). For older women more so than men a barrier is less time in employment, hence less work experience.

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[1] The authors did not report the nature of this networking, i.e., family and friends or more formal networks.

Job Search Skills

Older workers lack of job search skills, or their poor job searching behaviour in general, is one of the factors attributed to why this group has poorer re-employment success than other groups of workers (Underhill, et al., 1997). It is one of the main reasons why JFCs have been used as a means of helping older workers find work. Studies on job searching behaviour have attempted to evaluate how successful various methods of job searching techniques are in helping older individuals obtain employment, or how job searching techniques vary as a function of age, gender, and other factors. Job searching methods, or techniques, are generally grouped into three broad categories (de Graaf & Flap, 1988; Hasan & Gera, 1982). First, are the informal methods where contact with family, friends, and/or acquaintances helps a person learn about a job lead. These are sometimes referred to as "personal contacts". Second, are the formal methods. These methods have been designed for the specific purpose of matching jobs with workers, and included in this category, are newspaper advertisements, job placement orders at government or private agencies, or any other official job posting. The third method is the direct approach and includes the "cold call", or a direct application or call to an employer. Job searching methods may also be classified into passive or active methods, with looking at job advertisements and checking with relatives or friends examples of the former, and checking directly with employers or placing and answering advertisements examples of the latter (Clemenson, 1987; Hasan & Gera, 1982). Individuals searching for work commonly use a combination of any of the above or may rely on one, or two, methods exclusively.

One of the earliest most detailed studies on job seeking behaviour was The *Job Hunt* (Sheppard & Belitsky, 1966), a survey of 455 unemployed individuals in Erie County, Pennsylvania. Workers were divided into two age categories; young, comprised of the groups 18-28 and 29-38 years, and old, comprised of those 39-47 and 48 years and older. The authors studied the effects of skill, age, and gender in the use of such job finding techniques as newspaper advertisements, state employment agencies, friends and relatives, company hiring gates, unions, and other. They found a significant difference between men and women only in the use of state employment agencies with women using these more frequently than men. Men were much more likely than women to use company hiring gates and unions. Skill level also made a difference in the use of job finding techniques. Skilled workers were more likely to use unions, semi-skilled workers to use company hiring gates and newspaper advertisements, while unskilled workers were more likely to ask friends and relatives. Older men had a lower number of job searches through visiting companies than younger men and women had a lower average than men in the use of this technique. Regardless of technique used and frequency of use both men and women most often found their job through personal contacts, e.g., friends, relatives or other workers and less frequently through newspaper advertisements.

Age had an impact on employment services received; 27% of younger workers received employment testing, 19% received counselling, and 18% had referral to training programs, while for older workers the percentages who received these services were 16%, 11%, and 7% respectively. Skill level was not as important as age in receiving a referral to these employment services. Younger workers were more likely to become re-employed, however, subjective age was important. Even with the actual age held constant, among the older workers who saw themselves as young, 81% found a job compared with 55% of older workers who viewed themselves as old. The older workers who rated themselves as young did even better than younger workers who felt middle-aged, and of whom only 63% found a job. Older workers did less well than younger workers and there were more negative changes in the relationship between salary level and skill level for older workers. Older skilled workers received a lower salary than they had in their previous job. Older semi-skilled workers received less of an increase in salary in their new jobs than did younger semi-skilled workers while unskilled workers stayed at the same salary level among both older and younger workers. The importance of this study is that it was one of the earliest studies to look at job searching and methods of finding a job as a function of age, gender, and skill level. There was an implicit, if not explicit, acknowledgement that perhaps men and women, different cohorts, as well as classes approached job searching differently.

There are a number of Canadian studies on job searching behaviour which included the older worker. Gower (1975) used data from a special survey conducted in 1971 on job searching activities among unemployed workers. He divided the respondents into six groups; men 14-24 years, women 14-24 years, married men 25-54 years, married women 25-54 years, unmarried persons 25-54 years, and all persons 55 years and older (i.e., older workers). Respondents were asked to rank usage and success rates in finding a job with the following methods: asking employer at place of work, use of Canadian Metropolitan Centres (CMC) or Quebec employment centres, asking relatives or friends, answering advertisements, writing letters of application, checking with unions or union hiring halls, checking with placement officers, and using private employment agencies. Both overall and by study group the respondents ranked rate of usage and success rate highest for direct contact with employers. Second in rate of usage but not success rate was CMC or Quebec employment centres, and third, was asking relatives and friends. The method that ranked second for finding a job was personal contacts or asking relatives or friends, third was checking with unions or union hiring halls, and fourth, was using private employment agencies. In the age groups where men and women were disaggregated slight gender differences were noted in frequency of use of job searching method among younger workers, 25-54 years, but not older workers over 55 years. A finding pertinent to older workers was that those over 55 years were less likely to begin job searching voluntarily.

The percentage of all older workers who did not receive a job offer was 59%, and among those unemployed, 28% had an unemployment duration of over 6 months. Only among the older workers educational attainment did not appear to make a difference. The author concluded that workers over the age of 55 years had the most difficulty obtaining a job offer. He attributed this difficulty to employers' preference for younger workers because of health differences, obsolescence of older workers' skills, and effects on group insurance and pension plans.

As part of a study for the Economic Council of Canada and in an attempt to assess the productivity of the search process, Hasan and Gera (1982) examined the job search behaviour of unemployed Canadians. The research was based on data from the 1977 Monthly *Labour Force Survey* . Compared with the distribution in the total labour force the average monthly distribution of unemployed jobseekers was 55.7% men, 44.3% women, and 15.3% older workers, i.e., 45 years or older. Most, 68.5%, had high school education, 30.2% came from public administration, and 39.9% had been in clerical-sales-services occupations. Almost half were job losers, 48.7%, and a further 28.1% were re-entrants to the labour market. The authors examined the use of eight search methods by these job seekers: direct contact with employers, public employment agencies, looking at job advertisements, use of private employment agencies, contact with unions, contact with relatives and friends, placement of or a response to an ad, and other methods, e.g., employing professional agencies. The use of these search methods was examined by gender, age, educational level, industry and last occupation or job, and whether the individual was seeking full-time or part-time work. One of the limitations of the study was that older workers as a separate category were excluded from the analysis because the authors used the age groupings of 15-19 years, 20-24 years, and 25 years and older[2] to examine search method of the unemployed workers. They did report gender differences. Women more frequently than men reported using job advertisements, checking with private employment agencies, and placing or responding to advertisements, while men more frequently used public employment agencies, checking with unions, and checking with relatives and friends than women did. Use of direct contact with employers was almost equal for men and women. The authors' "prime age workers", i.e., those 25 years and over, with the exception of checking with unions, used all the methods less frequently than younger workers, i.e., those under 24 years. The average number of search methods used was slightly higher for men than women, those with a university degree versus those with lower levels of education, those in the transportation industry, or coming from managerial and professional occupations, and those seeking full-time work. Duration of unemployment affected search intensity, in that, those unemployed between 5 and 10 weeks reported the largest average number of methods (2.17), while those unemployed 1 to 4 weeks had the lowest average number (1.93). Both older men and women had longer average durations of unemployment at 18.1 weeks and 17.0 weeks than younger age groups. The average time unemployed for all workers was 14.5 weeks.

Using a similar methodology Clemenson (1987) studied job search methods used by unemployed Canadians looking for work during the period from 1977-1986. The data came from the Labour Force Surveys. Job search methods were coded into the same eight categories as Hasan and Gera (1982) used. These methods were further classified into active (contacting employers directly and checking with unions, relatives and friends) and passive methods (looking at job advertisements, using private employment agencies). She found some differences in methods used among unemployed job seekers, when compared by age, gender, length of unemployment, and level of education. Length of unemployment had little effect on the number of jobs advertisements used by men and women, however, other differences were noted. As duration of unemployment increased the percentage of individuals using only one method increased while use of two or more methods decreased slightly. What did change was the type of methods employed, in that, the use of passive methods increased as length of unemployment increased. Job search disillusionment is a possible explanation for the decreases in job search intensity with long-term employment (Rahman & Gera, 1990).

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[2] For utilization rate of job search methods of employed jobseekers Hasan and Gera (1982) had age categories of 45-64 years and 65+, thus including older workers as a separate category, however, they did not report findings using these categories for unemployed workers.

In Clemenson's (1987) study men were more likely than women to use active methods of job search while women more frequently reported using passive methods. The most frequently used method of job search was direct contact with employers which was used more frequently by men than women. Use of direct contact with employers decreased with both increasing age and length of unemployment. Use of public agencies, such as CEIC service offices and municipal employment offices declined by 20% from 1977 to 1986. The biggest decrease in use of these methods occurred among those over 45 years of age. Women over 45 had the lowest reported usage of this method, but for all older workers as the duration of unemployment increased the use of public agencies decreased. The opposite pattern was observed for younger workers. Over the study period checking with relatives and friends increased slightly and was used more by men than women. Women were more likely than men to use job advertisements and private employment agencies.

Schellenberg (1994) as part of his analysis of Canadians 45 years and older looking for work examined the job search methods of these unemployed Canadians and compared them with other age groups. He used the data from the 1992 Labour Force Annual Averages compiled by Statistics Canada. He found that there was not a large variation in the use of different methods by age, but there were slightly more by gender. Compared with other age groups, older men and women were less likely to check directly with employers for a job and the percentage was lower for older women than older men. Older men were slightly more likely than other age groups to check with unions for job openings perhaps reflecting the type of job they held previously.

Some of the research on job seeking behaviour comes from studies of economic dislocations, such as plant closures or layoffs which put large number of individuals out of work. Usually this work is part of a larger study examining the effects of these dislocations on workers and their subsequent employment. One study by Grayson (1985) on the SKF Canada Limited employees who lost their jobs when their plant closed in Toronto in 1981 displacing 310 workers examined job searching behaviour. One of the objectives of the study was to see how these unemployed workers searched for new jobs. It was a longitudinal study surveying workers at five different points in time: five months before the closure, and then seven weeks, one year, two years, and three years after the closure. Since advance notice had been given of the plant shutdown Grayson was able to examine job searching behaviour between those workers who acted on this notice versus those who did not. Prior to the plant closing 34% of workers reported job searching activity broken down into 66% answering newspaper advertisements, 56% using leads from friends, 41% going to personnel offices of other companies, and 13% using federal employment offices. SKF established a Manpower Consultative Service and 194 or 62.6% of employees used this service, although relatively few obtained a job via this means. Percentages of job searching techniques and success attributed to the methods fluctuated over the study period. Examining the total group he found by the time of the final post-displacement interview that 90% of workers used CEIC services to search for work, but only 3.4% found jobs through this service. Other successful job finding methods were leads from friends (36.4%), direct application to companies (29.5%), newspaper advertisements (9%), unions (3.5%), and "other" (11.4%). No disaggregation of methods or success is given for age and gender.

Westergaard, Noble, and Walker (1989) studied the redundancy experiences of workers, who became unemployed when a steel company closed in Sheffield, England in the late 1970s. One of the outcomes they were interested in was whether or not early notice of closure made a difference to job seeking behaviour. Their workers were divided into two groups: Group I comprised of non-skilled manual/ routine manual and Group II comprised of skilled manual/"higher" non-manual. Overall older workers, those over 55 years, were less likely to search prior to lay-off as they either had decided or were deciding whether or not to take the early retirement incentive offered. Among those older workers who wished to continue working there was a higher percentage who began searching for a job prior to redundancy than was found among younger workers. Skill level was associated with a difference in job seeking. A higher percentage of workers in Group II started searching for work before redundancy than in Group I (83% versus 54%). Although the researchers did not specifically evaluate the usefulness of the different job search methods for every job obtained they did investigate methods used. In interviews workers frequently volunteered the source that led to their employment. What these researchers classified as unofficial channels, e.g., personal contacts and cold calls, seemed to result in greater re-employment than use of official channels such as Job Centres. Higher levels of skill influenced using a variety of job searching methods, but there is no report how age influenced use.

A few job searching studies on older workers have been conducted focusing on the importance of social contacts and networks. In the early 1970s Granovetter (1973) explored the importance of "weak ties", i.e., a relationship to social networks characterized by short duration, low intensity and intimacy, fewer reciprocal exchanges, in contrast to "strong ties", or the more formal relationships of families and group memberships as a means of support for such activities as job search. Other researchers have built on Granovetter's work to study occupational attainment including re-employment among older workers. Included in this category are Sprengers, Tazelaar, and Flap (1988) who studied the effects of social resources using a "strength-of-weak-ties" and "networks-as-resources" framework to study re-employment and job searching among 242 men between the ages of 40 and 55 years in the Netherlands. They conducted a panel study with data collection by interviews prior to a layoff, and again at 5 months, 11 months, and 7 years post-displacement. Half of the subjects were re-employed within the first year and 75% by the last survey. At all data collection periods men in the 40-44 age group had the best re-employment success, followed by men 45-50, and lastly men 50-55 years. Job search intensity as measured by the number of applications for new jobs or follow-ups of job leads through informal methods were significantly higher for men 45-50 years old, those with higher educational levels and higher occupational status, and salary in their last jobs. Men with a larger number of social networks searched more intensely and were more likely to find a job within the first year of unemployment. The authors also found that length of unemployment made a difference to search methods used. Formal methods, such as, job exchange centres are used less frequently after the first year. In contrast to the direction suggested by Granovetter's theory strong ties were more useful in finding work.

Gender and job searching behaviour. While women were included in a number of the studies cited, only one study was located which looked specifically at women and their job searching behaviour. Pursell and Torrence (1980) focused on women and job searching because older women had been relatively unstudied in this area. Their subjects were 1,065 unemployed women, 730 younger women, 45 years old and less, and 335 older women over 45 years in Nebraska who had registered with the state unemployment office. The researchers used official unemployment records, supplemented by interviews, to collect their data. Significant differences reported for older women were longer periods of unemployment, an average of 5.5 fewer job search methods used, but more time measured in hours spent looking for work. Older women were more likely than their younger counterparts to contact employers directly, i.e., cold calls, whereas, younger women checked with relatives and friends, used newspaper advertisements, and state employment services more frequently. In spite of both being registered with the state unemployment service younger women and older women were treated differently by this agency; 8% of the younger women were offered counselling and 32% tested for training and job skills compared with 2.5% and 22% of older women for the same services. Among these women there were definite differences in their job searching patterns by age, however, subjects differed by occupational and union membership which might have contributed as much or more to the differences in their search behaviour as age.

Limitations of job searching studies. The criticism of older workers who are looking for work is that they are relatively restricted in both the type and frequency of the job searching methods used. This restriction is thought to be one of the reasons why they do less well than other age groups when searching for work. However, what a number of these studies fail to account for is that job searching methods change as a function of the occupation cycle. Workers report the use of different methods when searching for first as compared to subsequent jobs (Licht, 1992; Morris, 1995), therefore, we might expect the use of different methods by age.

Studies on job searching behaviour generally do not consider nor control for the effects of age or gender on this activity. When they do consider the effects of age or gender they tend to remain at a descriptive level and do not look for factors other than these variables, or more importantly *associated* with age and gender, that may account for the differences observed. A further limitation is that this type of research tends only to consider selected labour market processes and not others. Studies usually do not take into consideration differences in how jobs are advertised and employees are recruited in primary versus secondary labour markets. If a person is searching for work in a primary labour market he or she may use different job searching methods than if searching for work in a secondary labour market. Comparing non-equivalent labour market groups simply conflates the fact that factors other than individual characteristics can have an effect on job searching behaviour.

Lower Education or Lack of Retraining

Increased literacy as a goal needs to be supported across a number of government policies because of the negative effect poor literacy has on unemployment (OECD/HRDC, 1997). Poor literacy, lower educational levels, lack of training, and low participation in retraining programs are all educational characteristics that have an impact on re-employment of older workers. The 1989 national study of adult literacy in Canada supported the claim that older Canadians, especially in the 55-69 year old group, were more likely than younger adults to have literacy problems, i.e., reading skills insufficient to deal with reading requirements experienced in everyday reading (Statistics Canada, 1989a). In 1988 there were almost 25% of workers 45 years and older with less than 9 years of formal education, while for workers between 25 and 44 years the comparable figure was less than 6% (CLMPC, 1990), suggesting that for some older workers poor literacy levels and lower educational qualifications may be a real barrier to re-employment at a time when formal education and literacy are important for employment in most companies or businesses. Lower educational qualifications of older workers, however, do not account for all their educational difficulties, some relate to retraining among this age group.

The problems with training/retraining for older workers are that on the one hand this age group may be more reluctant to take part in retraining programs, and on the other hand opportunities are more restricted for them. Older workers are often felt to be less willing to take part in retraining programs and there is some truth in this belief. Schabracq (1994) suggests there are a number of motivational factors which might mitigate against older workers taking part in retraining programs in the workplace, such as, mistrust of employers' motives, imposed changes in working conditions, and perceived inability to compete in the programs. The more important factor in older workers' lower participation in retraining, however, is that older workers are not encouraged or supported for retraining programs on the job, suggesting that perhaps the conditions leading to labour market segmentation by age may be occurring even prior to layoff. In spite of the lower participation of older workers in retraining and the negative attitudes toward their abilities to benefit from retraining programs, evidence from program evaluation studies suggests that when older workers are given an opportunity to retrain they do well and their re-employment chances are increased.

Picot (1987) studied how different groups of unemployed workers in Canada accessed and used retraining. The objective of his work was to "estimate probabilities of taking training among long-term unemployed Canadians who differ in terms of age, sex, marital status, education, occupation, etc." (p. 5). Data came from the pooled data of the Labour Force Surveys of 1982 and 1983 and were analyzed using logistic regression comparing the probability of taking retraining with the probability of not taking retraining. To examine retraining among the unemployed he estimated the probability of participation in full-time training. He found that as age increased the probability of full-time training lowered and after age 40 years there was an under 3.0% probability that the person would retrain even when such variables as gender, education, province, or marital status were taken into consideration. Generally those with higher education were likely to enter a training program. Marital status was significant in the case of unmarried women who were almost three times more likely to retrain than were married women. They were also more likely to retrain than were both married and unmarried men. The probability of retraining, although not statistically significant, was also increased for those living from Manitoba west. Those coming from sales occupations had the lowest probability of enrolling in a full-time training program, while those from clerical or service occupations had the highest. The following groups were identified as long-term un-employed; all workers over 40 years, males 25-39 years with less than high school education, married women 25-39 years with high school or unmarried women of the same age with less than elementary school, and young married women between 18 and 24 without any postsecondary education. All of these groups had a low probability of entering a full-time training program.

As part of a larger study, examining job skills, Myles and Fawcett (1990) looked at gender differences in training. They selected a subsample of 2,000 respondents from the 1982-83 Canadian Class Structure Survey and looked at on-the-job training in six industries: goods (excluding agriculture), distributive services, retail, personal services, information services, and public services. In all sectors women reported markedly less extensive on-the-job training than men despite similar levels of formal education. The authors suggested that there were gender differences in how women and men acquire job training skills. Women gain access to skilled jobs through formal education, however, when it comes to employer-sponsored programs for skilled jobs men are given preference.

Rather than who was likely to take part in retraining programs Compton (1992) was also interested in who was likely to be *given* [italics added] an opportunity for employer sponsored retraining. She identified some definite age related differences in the pattern of retraining reported in the 1990 *Adult Education and Training Survey* (AETS). If an employee was 55 years or older they were half as likely to be sponsored for training than if they were between 35-44 years (8% versus 16%). She also found regional differences. Alberta had the highest rate of employer-sponsored programs at 18% and Newfoundland the lowest at 8%. Larger firms of greater than 500 employees sponsored the highest rate of training programs in the workplace and small firms with less than 20 people employed had the lowest rate. White collar workers were sponsored more frequently than blue collar workers.

Baldwin and Johnson (1995) examined retraining as a function of firm size. They wanted to identify factors that influenced employers' training decisions for employees. They surveyed all firms in Canada in 1992 which had an increase in employment and sales between 1984 and 1988 and included all major sectors except public administration. In total they covered 904 firms for a 69% response rate. They found 59% of the firms offered some type of training and the chance of this training occurring in a firm was increased if the firm had an emphasis on research and development, use of new technologies, or employed other innovative strategies. Training was also related to firm size, in that, larger firms tended to offer programs more often than smaller firms. No breakdown was given by age of employees, therefore, how age influenced training decisions is unknown in this sample, but gender was found to be important. There was an inverse relationship between the percentage of women employed and the percentage of retraining offered. Higher proportions of women meant lower proportions of retraining.

European researchers examining retraining and older workers have found similar results to those reported in Canadian studies. Paoli (1994) estimated only around five per cent of those in training courses sponsored by firms come from the over 45 age group. In a study of 10 Dutch companies as the age group increased the likelihood of training decreased markedly (Boerlijst, 1994). Four in five or six among those 40 to 52 years might take part in a work-related training program, but when age was 53 years or older the proportion was greatly reduced. While age itself may be a barrier to training when gender is added it further reduces the chance of training. Older women, on average, have two to three times less chance for training than older men in European countries (Teiger, 1994).

Limitations in age and retraining research. Research on age and retraining demonstrates that older workers less frequently take part in retraining programs than their younger counterparts. Studies on older workers and retraining are limited in a number of important ways. While older workers are frequently characterized as being reluctant to take part in retraining programs and there seems to be some support for this position, this is only part of the reason why older workers are underrepresented in studies on retaining. What is coming out in more recent research is that rather than older workers being more reluctant to retrain they are not being recruited or supported for workplace sponsored retraining programs. Most of the focus of past research is on *what* is happening, but too few studies go beyond the descriptive level to examine *why* or *how* it is happening. Research in this area needs to focus on some of the barriers for older workers who wish to take retraining.

Mobility of Older Workers

Older workers exhibit less geographical and occupational mobility than younger workers (Markey & Parks, 1989). They are less likely to move or relocate to another geographical area to find a new job. They are also less likely to try and find a job in an occupation other than the one they left (CLMPC, 1990). Both types of mobility have been considered by economists and sociologists, alike, and as the English economist Alfred Marshall (1890/1940) observed:

> No one can deliver his labour in a market in which he himself is not present . . . and the unwillingness to quit home, and to leave old associations, including perhaps some loved cottage and burial-ground, will often turn the scale against a proposal to seek better wages in a new place. (p. 567)

Older workers are more likely to be "settled" in a community and frequently own their homes, particularly if they have been displaced from a job after a long tenure. Harris (1987) noted among displaced workers in a U.S. sample, that only 6% of those 55 years and older reported that they relocated, but among those who did move the re-employment rate increased. What was cause and effect is not reported. Canadian evidence suggests older workers have lower rates of relocation to find a new job.

A movement to a new occupation or industry depending on the local labour market may be easier than geographical movement (Mackay & Jones, 1989), however, this activity is less often observed among older workers. Gera and Rahman (1991a; 1991b) studied labour mobility and unemployment in Canada in the 1980s. They used four measures of industry mobility, finding a job in the same industry, same industry group, same sector, or moving to a different sector, and three measures of occupational mobility, same occupation, same occupational group, or new occupational group. Among those who lost jobs, they divided the group into "stayers" or those who found jobs in the same industry or sector, and "changers" or those who found jobs in another industry or sector. Data for the study came from the 1986 Labour Market Activity Survey. Overall among job losers there were more changers with 60% falling within this category. Findings form their study indicated that as an individual ages there is less interindustry mobility. Older workers, i.e., those in the 55-64 age group, were the least mobile across industries. They also found gender differences. Women were less mobile than men in both occupation and industry. Older workers in their study who lost jobs had longer periods of unemployment despite job search intensity equal to that of prime-aged workers.

Limitations in mobility research and older workers. It is important not to accept the findings of studies comparing older workers and younger workers on mobility uncritically. Comparing these two groups on geographical and occupational mobility does not take into consideration the reality of the differences in the lives of individuals in these two age groups and the commitments they have invested in place and occupation; commitments and investments that may very well be age-dependent. Instead of looking at age alone in these studies we may need to consider what age might be a proxy for should movement occur, such as higher home ownership, greater community involvement, greater effects on the family, and development of greater job-specific skills.

Health of Older Workers

Health, in particular, an emphasis on the negative aspects of aging continue to have an effect on the older worker's opportunities for retraining and in their re-employment opportunities and success. The reason for a lower sponsorship in retraining is often justified on the grounds that older workers are thought more difficult to retrain because of perceived changes in their physical and cognitive abilities. Another common myth about the older worker is that they are less productive than their younger counterparts (CARNET, 1995). The reason given as a basis of this lower productivity is a depreciation, in the language of human capital theorists, or a decline, in their "health". The origins of this myth go back a long way when researchers attempted to document the deleterious effects of aging on health, and in turn, on job performance (Gruman, 1979). The myth about older workers and poor health can be traced back to the 1870s and to the concern medical science had with age and its relation to productivity. The peak age of work performance was placed between 30 and 45 years of age (Beard, 1874/1979), 25 and 40 years (Osler, 1905/1979), or sometime before age 45 (Crichton-Browne, 1905/1979), depending of course on the type of work in which the person was engaged. The last age mentioned, i.e., 45 years, fits in with our current common definition of an older worker.

Limitations of research on health of older workers. A great deal of research has been done on the older worker and health, especially on changes in physical and cognitive abilities relating to age, retraining abilities, and job performance (Berkowitz, 1988; McEvoy & Cascio, 1989). While there is no basis for some of the beliefs about health and physical deterioration of the older worker leading to a lack of productivity (Charness, 1995), one of the basis of employees not hiring older workers is the concern that they may be "too old to do the job", or "the job may be too demanding" for them, which is just another more positive way of restating the first concern. What is interesting in reading historical discussions of older workers is how this concern with health and aging has permeated so many of the discussions on re-employment of the older worker. A good example of this is the proceedings of the first research symposium on the problems of an aging population by the Industrial Relations Research Association and how they framed the problems of employing older workers. As one participant said, industries needed "youthful enthusiasm, restlessness, and energy" and to "avoid hardening of the arteries" (Derber, 1950, p.67), suggesting a disease process inherent in aging, but more importantly linking that change to productivity. There is no doubt in looking at some of the current myths about older workers that we still see widespread belief that older workers are less productive and that many times this is tied in with their poorer health status, or with physical and cognitive changes associated with aging.

Social Factors Affecting Older Workers and Re-employment

While individual factors are frequently cited as the main reason why older workers have more difficulties and no doubt account for some of the difficulty selected older workers experience with re-employment, on their own they are insufficient to explain *why* we observe these difficulties. Broader societal factors, such as attitudes toward age and aging, which are frequently translated into discrimination toward older workers, play an important role in the difficulties attributed to older workers as a group. These negative attitudes have become institutionalized in our society and form the basis of a number of myths about older workers. The origin of many of these attitudes can be traced back to the early part of the twentieth century, or even earlier (Gruman, 1979; Hushbeck, 1989), and are resistant to change.

Attitudes Toward Older Workers

There are numerous stereotypes or myths relating to older workers which are summarized in the literature (CARNET, 1995; Casey, Metcalf, & Lakey, 1993; Rix, 1990). A large body of sociological, psychological, and physiological research on older workers and job performance has demonstrated little basis for many of these stereotypes, yet such attitudes towards older workers persist. Negative attitudes toward older workers by employers and especially managers may be one of the major reasons for their lack of re-employment success as a number of studies indicate.

A significant portion of managers believe that older workers are set in their ways and resistant to change. Among U.S. executives surveyed by Meier (1988) 41% thought older workers were resistant to change. Perhaps as a result of this belief older workers are also believed to be more difficult to manage. Additionally aging and physical limitations are almost synonymous in the views of a number of people with 36% of those same executives stating that older workers had physical limitations that would interfere with their work. Similarly in Great Britain, 63% of 1,140 personnel managers believed older workers adapted to change much less so/less so than younger workers, and 66% rated older workers as less likely to accept new technology in the workplace (Warr & Pennington, 1993).

More recently the American Association of Retired Persons (American Association of Retired Persons, 1995) surveyed 400 senior human resource executives in the U.S. on their attitudes toward the abilities of older workers. They defined older workers as 50 years and older. These executives rated the older worker highly on skills, experience, and their good work ethic, but a less positive evaluation was given to older workers on the ability to adapt to new technology, such as, acquiring computer skills. They also felt that younger managers were uncomfortable managing older workers whom they perceived to want greater income and benefits, and to have the attitude that they "know it all".

In a study of managers' perceptions of older workers at NOVA Corporation in Alberta, 31% agreed that older workers could not do heavy physical work, 31% agreed they had difficulty with extended schedules, 22% thought they had difficulty working overtime, and 13% felt they could not keep up with the pace of work (CARNET, 1996). On a more positive note 97% of managers felt that older workers were productive employees. There is evidence that even prospective managers have negative attitudes toward older workers. For example undergraduate students in hospital management programs at a number of American universities rated older workers as more difficult than younger workers to manage (Hotel & Motel Management Association, 1993) suggesting managers enter their positions with set ideas about older workers.

Among members of the general public age stereotyping of workers is prevalent (McDaniel, 1993). In a 1992 survey of a representative sample of Albertans, respondents had a clear division of some areas where they believed age made a difference to workers' abilities. Some 1,265 members of the general population were asked if younger or older workers would be better on seven dimensions of work: dependability, learning new technical jobs, learning new management jobs, dedication, willingness to work hard, flexibility and willingness to change, and common sense. Some respondents felt there were no differences based on age. Older workers were rated as better when it came to such characteristics as dependability (81.1%), dedication (70.9%), or common sense (73.6%), while younger workers were rated more favourably in learning new technical skills (80.5%), and in flexibility and willingness to change (72.8%). Older workers were rated almost twice as often as being willing to work hard (45.6% versus 21.2%), although, as many as 33.1% felt there were no differences. Younger workers were given a slight edge in their ability to learn new management jobs (40.9%) compared with older workers (36.8%).

Age Discrimination

Segmentation in the labour market may arise from the fact that participants are frequently given unequal treatment on the basis of characteristics which ought not to be important to the work and based more on discrimination (Ryan, 1981). One of the basis of discrimination in society that has an impact in the labour market is age or agesim. The term "ageism" was introduced in 1969 by Robert Butler, the first Director of the National

Institute on Aging in the United States (Palmore, 1990). Butler (1987) defined ageism as "a process of systematic stereotyping and discrimination against people because they are old" (p. 22). Ageism is a relatively recent term, nevertheless there is a long history of discrimination based on age. Hushbeck (1989) traces the development of age discrimination towards the American worker during the period 1860-1920 and concludes, "by the turn of the century, an institutionalized bias against age was widespread and growing" (p. 129). Although older people are still discriminated against in a number of fields, one of the most common is in the job market (Palmore, 1990). Despite legislation protecting a worker because of age a significant barrier to older workers who are looking for employment is still age discrimination (Rife, 1995).

Age discrimination, or the differential treatment of persons on the basis of age, exists, "when an employer, having no economic or productivity related basis, offers different wages or conditions of employment to older worker" (Andrisani & Daymont, 1987, p. 52). Some indications that age discrimination are in operation include, but are not limited to, employers passing over older workers in favour of younger workers similarly or less qualified, using the phrase "too much experience" as a proxy for age in denying or discouraging job applications, denying older workers the opportunity to participate in company-sponsored training programs, and paying older workers less than younger workers for the same work (Rix, 1990).

Employers in the U.S. in the early part of the twentieth century introduced "age bars" to limit the number of older workers in their employment, mainly to improve their industrial productivity, but also to cut down on the costs of private insurance they had to pay (Ransom, Sutch, & Williamson, 1993). Age bars were management policies which, "prohibited or restricted the hiring of a new worker, who was older than some arbitrary limit. Typically, 40 or 45 was set as the maximum age for newly hired workers" (p. 21). In 1929 the National Association of Manufacturers presented the results from a number of surveys and found age bars to be in widespread usage. This widespread usage led this organization to identify age discrimination as a central cause of older workers' problems. Historical evidence of age discrimination in the form of age bars within Canadian industries was found in the form of "age specification" for job openings registered with Employment Service of Canada, and later with the National Employment Service (NES), but it is hard to pinpoint when it came into usage. Age specification was a routine piece of information that employers would state when they were advertising for a prospective employee. Later NES would experience considerable difficulty trying to get both their job counsellors and prospective employers not to state and use a specified age for filling a job opening. Up until 1959 there were still "age ceilings" in help wanted ads within Canada (Department of Labour, 1959b). The legacy of age bars and age specification seems to have remained with us and even though they may not appear in a job advertisement they often are a covert factor in hiring practices. A newspaper report in the Globe and Mail, cites a Toronto recruiter who sees evidence of age discrimination daily (MacDonald, 1996). He says instructions from potential employers are clear and short of being openly discriminating, clients want a recruit in "their mid 40s to early 50s" for senior positions (p. B14).

A special committee of the U.S. Senate (1987) concluded that age discrimination ". . . plays a pernicious role in blocking employment opportunities for older workers" (p. 120), but reliable and valid figures on its occurrence are difficult to obtain because it is hard to substantiate. Age may or may not be the main factor in an employer's decision not to hire or promote an individual. Older workers may legitimately be denied a job or promotion because of a characteristic other than age. Nevertheless some empirical work has attempted to document the incidence of age discrimination. Research has illustrated that the perception of age discrimination in employment has been and continues to be prevalent. These perceptions are found among the general public, other employees, and managers. There is also indirect evidence that despite efforts at reducing age discrimination it is still an issue for the older worker. Almost eighty percent of the American public thought older people were discriminated against by employers and as a result had difficulty in finding work (Harris & Associates, 1975; 1981). Similar results have been reported from Europe. Among the general population of 12 of the member states of the European Economic Community (EEC), 73% of people sampled felt there was discrimination against the older worker in recruitment, followed by 67% in training, 62% in promotions, and 49% in status in the organization (Walker, 1993). Laczko and Phillipson (1991) reported on a Gallup survey on ageism in employment in London. Of the employers surveyed, 86% stated they preferred workers under 35 years as the most appropriate to their employment needs and 36% admitted that a woman candidate with the same skills and same age as a man, would more likely than the man to be turned down because of her age.

Measures to combat age discrimination have had limited effect. The introduction of legislation in the U.S. prohibiting discrimination on the basis of age marginally changed the attitude of the general population in respect to job entitlement for older adults. After the amendment of the Age Discrimination in Employment Act (ADEA) in 1978, Americans surveyed were more positive toward and concerned about older workers, with women, more so than men. They were also likely to support the rights of older workers to work regardless of age or competition from younger people for jobs (Ferraro, 1989). The American Association of Retired Persons (1986) conducted a national survey of workers 40 years and over to see how widespread age discrimination was. Six percent of the respondents reported discrimination, but there was variation by age. Four percent of American workers in their forties, compared with 10% among those 63 years and older, indicated they had been discriminated against on the basis of age. Those who reported age discrimination felt that age was a factor in either not being promoted or being denied a chance for advancement in their job.

A study of employers confirms that age discrimination continues in the hiring process in Britain. Tillsley (1990) attempted to study the impact of age upon employment and how prevalent ageism is at the organizational level. She surveyed trade unions, examined recruitment advertisements in a sample of national newspapers, *Personnel Management*, and the local press, interviewed some 40 employers who advertised for jobs, sent inquiries to a sample of employers who had/had not placed age restrictions in their recruitment advertisements, studied job vacancies listed in local job centres, and conducted a survey of six employment agencies in each of her research areas. Although age discrimination was not strong, she did find evidence of age restriction among some of the white collar jobs advertised.

In contrast a survey by *People Management* , formerly *Personnel Management*, which is published by the Institute of Personnel Management in Great Britain, found age-specific ads remain a problem in Britain (cited in Kelly, 1996). In November 1995 researchers counted over 250 ads from two daily and one Sunday newspaper with age specified and descriptors such as "Personnel Manager - A graduate in his/her late 20s/early 30s is sought" (p. 8). *People Management* has since revised their policy so as not to include ads which discriminate on the basis of age.

Age discrimination in job advertisements is problematic in other European countries. Eurolink Age (cited in OPTIONS 45+, 1996a) studied age discrimination based on job advertisements and early retirement practices. They found that in Spain, Greece, and Britain maximum limits on age were contained in as high as 40% of the job advertisements they covered. Age was used to force retirement of workers 5 to 15 years before the official retirement age. Those who were 50 and 55 years old often felt "obliged" or "persuaded" towards early retirement even if that were not their individual preferences. How much age and gender together contribute to discrimination and what are its differential effects are unknown, but gender differences may interact with age to produce different patterns of discrimination. Shaw (1988) argues that older women may be more likely than older men to experience discrimination on entry to the labour market, while men experience more at exit, e.g., in the form of more early involuntary retirement. The latter may reflect the employment situation of older men, in that, more are in occupations which have early retirement provisions.

The Canadian Human Rights Commission report released in March 1997 supports the belief that discrimination in Canada is alive and well (Canadian Human Rights Commission, 1997). One of the groups singled out for attention is older workers. Myths about this group contribute to their vulnerability in employment. The two myths identified in the report which seem to prevail in society are that older workers do not really need to work and that it is a poor investment to make finances available for their training. There is a great deal of evidence to suggest that neither of these myths are well founded. A number of older workers have financial responsibilities and cannot afford to take the early retirement that is offered them (Schellenberg, 1994). It is well known that older workers who retrain often stay with a company longer than younger workers.

Lobbying Efforts on Behalf of Older Workers

A gauge of how society feels about a certain social issue may be measured by how groups are formed, or mobilized, to deal with that issue. As a social movement the formation of voluntary organizations has attempted to make older worker's employment difficulties more visible in society. Although voluntary organizations are non-governmental organizations their impact on government policy decisions can be significant in their ability to lobby or advocate on the behalf of certain groups. Since the early 1970s a number of seniors' organizations have formed within Canada (Kernaghan & Kuper, 1983; Pratt, 1993). The political agenda, and thus most of the political action, of these groups revolve mainly around policies relating to pensions, however, one of the seniors' organizations, *One Voice,* has been concerned with employment and unemployment among older workers. There are also a number of Seniors Employment Bureaux (SEBs) throughout Canada whose main thrust is employment for older workers (One Voice, 1994).

One Voice, the Canadian Seniors Network. *One Voice* is a professionalised interest group with headquarters in Ottawa which actively lobbies the federal government for public policy in the interest of senior citizens. Although it plays a lobbying role the thrust of *One Voice*'s activities is advocacy. The group began in January 1987 and received substantial funding from the Samuel and Saidye Bronfman Family Foundation (Pratt, 1993). *One Voice* is described as "a national not-for-profit seniors organization, independent of government, which addresses national issues and presents the seniors' point of view to decision-makers in government, industry and business" (One Voice, 1994, p.41). A national issue identified by the group is the difficulty that many older workers face in the labour market. In recent years they have taken on the mandate of helping older workers, defined as those 45 years and older, find work. *One Voice* has actively worked with Seniors Employment Bureaux (SEB) and other groups to tackle unemployment among older workers.

Older Workers Resource Network. In 1995 a national body, the Canadian *Older Workers Resource Network* (COWRN), was formed with the goal of developing programs and specific projects to maximize the employment opportunities of workers 45 years and older (Corey, 1996). Secretariat services in the formative stage were provided by *One Voice*. In January 1996, COWRN became the *Canadian Network for Experienced Workers* and set up a program called *OPTIONS 45+*, coordinated by *One Voice*. The purpose of the program is to work with employment agencies, businesses, and Human Resources Development Canada (HDR) to respond to the problems experienced by older workers. *Options 45+* received $900,000 from HDR to fund the program. In their first two years of operation they have worked to promote programs meeting the needs of older workers and to initiate and support studies on older workers' employment difficulties.

Seniors Employment Bureaux (SEBs) in Canada. As of 1994 there were twelve SEBs within Canada working on an independent basis; some had opened as early as the 1970s. SEBs were originally set up to "find full or part-time employment for seniors (aged 60 and over) who had retired and to promote the benefits of hiring older workers" (One Voice, 1994, p.9). Since their inception the mandate of these bureaux has expanded to include offering employment assistance to all unemployed workers, aged 45 and over. The SEBs vary from region to region in their financing, structure and services, but share the common role of providing whatever employment assistance they can to the older worker (Corey, 1996).

National consultations: *One Voice* and SEBs. In 1991 *One Voice*, together with the Seniors Employment Bureau of Ottawa-Carleton, sponsored the first national consultation among representatives of Seniors Employment Bureaux (SEBs) in Canada to explore how the SEBs could work together and advocate on behalf of older workers. It was held in Moncton in June 1991 with representatives from five bureaux and from *One Voice*. At this meeting the participants identified some of the issues of an aging workforce and the impacts on the older worker, such as, their difficulties finding employment and some of the barriers they face. They explored ways the SEBs could help at both the policy level and the individual level in older workers' search for jobs. An outcome of the consultation process was that the participants felt it was important to develop "a strong and viable national network of SEBs with research capabilities and collective strength, and to determine the additional mandate of such a body" (*One Voice*, 1995, p. 5). A recommendation was made to this effect and a follow-up meeting planned.

The second consultation was held in Calgary April 1994, co-sponsored by *One Voice* and the "Opportunity 45 Society of Calgary". It attracted 59 participants representing

SEBs and other seniors groups from across Canada. Prior to the consultation Grant Schellenberg (1994) of the Centre for International Statistics prepared a research Report *Older Workers and Canada's Aging Labour Force* in which he outlined some of the problems confronting older workers with employment. An outcome of this second consultation was to set up a seven member Task Force to establish a formal national network of those who are concerned with issues of employment for older workers in Canada. *One Voice* facilitated the functioning of the Task Force. These voluntary organizations have identified both negative attitudes toward older workers and discrimination on the part of employers as two of the main difficulties that older workers face.

One Voice and the *Institute for Human Development, Life Course and Aging* at the University of Toronto have begun studies on what is available to older displaced workers. The first phase of their project was a survey of managers and counsellors at Human Resources Centres of Canada (HRCCs) in all the provinces, with the exception of Quebec, and in the Territories (Underhill, et al., 1997). The study identifies some of the difficulties that these counsellors see in their day-to-day activities with workers of all ages. Most, or 79%, of those surveyed believe that those 60 years or older experience the most difficulty finding work followed closely (71%) by those 45-59 year old. Some of the main barriers to older unemployed workers that they identified, in descending order of importance and on which the counsellors strongly or moderately agreed, are: lack of advanced job-search skills (88%), awareness of services available to them (85%), discrimination of employers in hiring practices (84%), lack of appropriate technical skills (77%), and unwillingness to relocate (77%). The majority of HRDC counsellors did not feel that older workers had unrealistically high expectations of jobs. They did feel that many older workers leave the workforce because of the barriers they face.

Political Factors Affecting Older Workers and Re-employment

Government policies, in particular those related to labour market policies but not limited to them, have an important effect on labour market adjustment and are a means of addressing some of the problems of older workers. The government has long supported employment policies either directly or indirectly which have contributed to labour market segmentation by age and gender described above. Offe (1985) describes these as "a group-specific disaggregation of policies regarding the labour market which. . . influence the market situation of specific, often very finely differentiated occupational, sectoral, age, gender, and regional segments of the entire work-force" (p. 12). How much these group-specific efforts play in contributing to labour market segmentation by age or age and gender and the associated problems is largely unexplored. Some of these policies discussed below include, but are not limited to, legislation against discrimination, early and mandatory retirement, assistance for unemployed older workers, and job training strategies for older workers.

Legislation Against Discrimination

One of the mechanisms in place to help older workers is legislation, which in theory protects them against age discrimination. The Supreme Court of Canada ruled against a fixed compulsory retirement age in 1985 and in the same year a parliamentary committee on equality made a recommendation that the Canadian Human Rights Act be amended to abolish mandatory retirement by prohibiting age discrimination (Baker, 1988). Not withstanding this ruling the provisions for preventing age discrimination vary across provincial jurisdictions. At the Federal level and in the Yukon Territory, British Columbia, Saskatchewan, Manitoba, Quebec, New Brunswick, Nova Scotia, and Prince Edward Island, individuals are protected against age discrimination by their respective Human Rights Acts. In Alberta they are protected by the Individuals Rights Protection Act, while in Saskatchewan, Ontario and Newfoundland they are protected by the provincial Human

Rights Code. Individuals in the former Northwest Territories were protected by a Fair Practices Act (Kumar, et al., 1991)[3].

A number of court decisions have illustrated that despite legislation workers in a number of jurisdictions do not have protection against losing their job when they reach a certain age. Systematic discrimination is still permitted. The Supreme Court of Canada's decision to affirm policy that says police officers in various jurisdictions are required to retire at age 60 (*The Evening Telegram*, October 20, 1995, p. 8), based on the decision that prior agreements or "valid" requirements of a job may supersede an older person's protection of rights under other legislation, is a good example of such systematic discrimination. A second critique of how well legislation may protect older workers is that although legislation can help to control overt discrimination in employment, it is not always effective against covert forms of ageism that are expressed in attitudes towards and beliefs about older workers. As previously discussed these negative attitudes toward older workers and their employment still exist and continue to have an impact on employer's hiring practices (Schulz, 1991).

A third, and final, critique is that legislation against age discrimination does not protect older workers against being "forced" to take early retirement (Canadian Human Rights Commission, 1997). Although early retirement is considered to be voluntary, it is only so in that in many instances the worker sees it as the better of two unwanted options (Herz & Rones, 1989; Kolberg & Hagen, 1991-92; Rones, 1988). When downsizing is implemented and it is clear that the workforce is to be cut by some mechanism, "choosing" early retirement, rather than being given a lay-off notice is only "voluntary" in a very limited sense. Nevertheless early retirement is not considered by many individuals nor in general by the courts to be a form of age discrimination, although it is clearly directed at older workers. Early retirement is considered a socially acceptable and legal way to help employers deal with a surplus workforce, and to adjust the composition of their workforce to fit their perceived needs. Early retirees may have a need to work, but some employers may evaluate them more negatively because they are retired or frown upon "double-dipping", e.g., receiving a pension and a salary. The Canadian Human Rights Commission recommends a re-examination of mandatory retirement because of the effects on and the systematic bias towards older workers inherent in such a practice.

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[3] Seven jurisdictions specify the ages covered; Newfoundland ages 19-65, Nova Scotia ages 40-65, New Brunswick ages 19+, Ontario and Saskatchewan ages 18-65, Alberta ages 18+ and British Columbia ages 45-65.

Early and Mandatory Retirement Provisions

A number of historians reject the idea that industrialization was the main factor in creating labour market difficulties for older workers, because displacement of older workers and their difficulties were well documented prior to industrialization (Achenbaum, 1978; Fischer, 1977; Stearns, 1976). While the state and industry were both concerned with how to manage workers as they aged and were unable to work, the predominant concern for governments was how to support these workers. As a result the state introduced retirement schemes, and Haber and Gratton (1993) attribute older workers difficulties to this particular state action. These authors contend that economic depressions, particularly the Great Depression of the 1930s, presented a "political opportunity for a redefinition of the work cycle" and this served to eventually break "the basic connection between old age and work" (p. 109), even though it was not until the 1950s that retirement became widespread. Guillemard (1991) contends, that in more recent years, other private and public welfare systems have essentially served to "destandardize" the life course resulting in a separation of old age, retirement, and labour force withdrawal.

The state was concerned with how to support older workers who were unable to work, but more importantly the concern was how to balance the tension and demand for jobs by different age groups; with the latter seeming to be the more important of the two.

This led to efforts for employment being biased toward younger age groups. Indeed the first retirement systems were set up, and then manipulated, for these particular circumstances. With a set retirement age there was a clear demarcation, at least in some occupations, of when age became a deciding factor in the timing of a workers' withdrawal from the labour market. Mandatory retirement and the laws enforcing this policy differentially affected a particular age group, i.e., those 65 years and older (Levine, 1988), and increasingly the age for retirement is moving downwards taking the form of early retirement schemes. These early retirement schemes were seen as valuable in both managing unemployment and in facilitating restructuring of industry (Firbank, 1995). The effect they had on older workers were twofold. In the first place, they removed a number of older workers involuntarily from the workforce. A second effect is that early retirement has decreased the saliency of unemployment as an issue for older workers. It has created the feeling that efforts to employ older workers is not as important as those directed toward younger people, because older workers at least have some income when they are laid-off. However, as Graebner (1980) indicated, expectations of retirement were unrealistic:

> We believed it could rejuvenate and stabilize the teaching profession, the churches and factories; spare us the distress of an aging bureaucracy, allow the payment of lower salaries, distribute work in declining industries and in an economy that, in many, sometimes lengthy periods over the last century, had failed all who wanted to work. (p. 16)

As will be discussed below, early retirement has become a major factor in restructuring the public and private sector.

Job Training Strategies and Assistance For Older Workers

Major elements of labour market policy that assists workers of all ages include measures like job training, development of basic skills, job-placement services, and mobility and wage assistance (McBride, 1992). The Employment Offices Co-ordination Act enacted May 24, 1918 established employment services under the Division of Employment Service Canada, and later in 1940 it was renamed the National Employment

Services (NES). Throughout its history of employment services the government has had only a limited number of training strategies and programs of assistance directed specifically towards older workers, although more often making announcements that special groups, such as older workers needed assistance (Hunter, 1993). While no evidence was found that retraining of older workers was widely promoted or instituted, a few programs or projects were initiated specifically to help older unemployed men. The first such program that was started for older unemployed men came under the terms of the 1938-39 Relief Act. This was during the great depression when a number of older workers were displaced. The purpose of this early project was to "rehabilitate" these men and get them back to work as quickly as possible, but the nature of this rehabilitation is difficult to track. The project was limited in numbers and in scope as "up to the end of 1939 the maximum number provided for in any month was 1,331, and only these in Manitoba, Ontario, and Alberta" (Marsh, 1940, p.316).

The second initiative specifically for the older worker was "The Older Worker Employment and Training Incentive Program" under the direction and control of the NES (Hunter, 1993). It was a short lived initiative that ran from November 1, 1963 to January 31, 1964 and extended to March 31, 1964 designed for older workers, defined as 45 years and older who were long-term unemployed. The program was announced with considerable press coverage. Under the program the federal government paid 50% (or $75./month—if less) of an eligible worker's wages for a one year period in new jobs in insurable employment. In total around 1,800 older workers benefitted under the program although up to 2,350 applicants were approved. Later an assessment of the program by a senior staff person conceded:

> . . . .this [program] wasn't as we in the Department [Labour] had said earlier—the best approach to this problem. The intention now is to try to develop some capabilities for identifying people of all ages who have trouble in the labour market and then mobilize the training and counselling

> capabilities so as to assist these people back to work as quickly as possible. (quoted in Sobel & Wilcock, 1966, p.63)

Another program called the Portable Wage Subsidy Program (PWS) set up in the early 1980s was designed to assist those 45 years and older find new jobs. It started in 1981 and was similar to the unsuccessful Older Worker Employment and Training Incentive Program of the 1960s (Hunter, 1993). The PWS was targeted to specific older workers who had a long job tenure in a particular industry and had lost that job because of the introduction of new technology or another industrial change. After the first year the requirements changed to tie the program to an Industry and Labour Adjustment Program (ILAP) community or to an industry receiving services under the Manpower Consultative Service Agreement. Under PWS an eligible worker would be issued a voucher to be given to a new employer for a job. Although 1700 vouchers were issued to older workers only 61 were redeemed for work; a success rate of less than four percent.

Other major initiatives in the early 1980s came under the Canada Job Strategy (CJS) programs: 1) Job Development, 2) Job Entry, 3) Skill Shortages, and 4) Skill Investment (CLMPC, 1990). Older workers were not specifically targeted[4], but neither were they excluded. Older workers accounted for a small percentage of participants, 8% of the overall participants in the four programs in 1987. Their highest rate of participation was in the Skill Investment program, the only CJS program for the currently employed, with the older worker accounting for 16.6% of the participants. The reason that their participation was higher in this program was because in 1988 the government proposed a Continuing Employment Option, under the Skill Investment program, and put a further $40 million to attract older displaced workers.

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[4] The four target groups for CJS programs are women, natives, visible minorities, and the disabled. While older women could be included on the basis of gender, characteristics associated with age, such as, shorter payback periods for employers and need for extensive basic skills upgrading, could work against them.

Job Finding Clubs (JFCs). In 1981 as part of CJS a series of Job Finding Clubs (JFC)[5] were started and aimed at any individual having difficulty obtaining employment. JFCs were developed through Employment and Immigration Canada and took the form of actively assisting workers in obtaining employment (Gibson & Mills, 1989). As part of an overall strategy to respond to the needs of older workers who were unemployed, the Ministers of Employment and Immigration and State jointly announced on November 9, 1988 that one of the initiatives would be a pilot project establishing JFCs specifically for older workers, i.e., those 45 years and older. The federal government announced at this time that it would be hiring outside (private) agencies to run the JFC programs.

A problem identified for older workers was that they lacked the necessary job finding skills and needed assistance with that aspect of searching for a job. A job finding club is not a retraining program, but assists workers in their job finding efforts. Seminars and support are offered to help older workers in *how* to find jobs. The emphasis is on actively seeking out work that may be available and getting workers matched with jobs. To be eligible to participate in the program persons had to be unemployed, and actively seeking, or willing to actively seek employment.

The program was adopted from a similar program developed in the United States by Azrin, a social psychologist[6], where it seemed to produce positive results. It was designed to help people who were unemployed for a long time (mainly women on welfare), and who were having difficulty finding employment, learn how to search for work in a structured manner so as to increase their chances of finding a job. Job finding assistance programs like the JFC were developed and used in the 1970s in the U.S. for particular clientele and in a particular manner (Gueron, 1989). They arose out of the success that job counsellors at employment services had in assisting individual clients find a job. This approach was later developed for a group context because it was more cost effective to have a group of unemployed workers together with one or two facilitators. In addition the clients could help each other in their job search efforts. The programs became known as "clubs". The JFCs in particular were developed for welfare, or welfare-eligible, recipients on the premise that, "the main barrier to welfare recipients finding jobs is not the absence of specific work skills or employment experience but the recipient's inexperience in, and lack of effective techniques for, seeking out and obtaining a job" (p. 368). Underlying this program is the belief that there are jobs to be filled in an area and people just need to be taught how to find these jobs. This approach does not take into consideration that for particular workers, especially those with identifiable labour market risks, to take advantage of available jobs they may require some new skills. If they do not receive these additional skills in the form of retraining they will be limited to jobs of lower skill level and pay.

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[5] The information on the job find clubs came from personal communication with Arthur Mills, Employment and Immigration Canada, Ottawa, who was the person responsible for starting these clubs.

[6] The manual is mainly based on the book *Job club counsellor's manual—a behavioral approach to vocational counselling* by N. Azrin and V. Besalel (1980).

The decision to use JFCs as a strategy for older workers was based on an analysis by Employment and Immigration Canada (EIC). Their analysis suggested that some of the barriers which this group experienced when they were unemployed might be overcome by a program which would assist them in finding jobs. Equal amounts of financial assistance from the ministerial reserve funds and from CJS to a total of $1 million were set aside to pilot JFCs for older workers. A total of 15 clubs, representing all the provinces, were set up. The programs were originally run by regional offices of Employment and Immigration Canada but by 1988 outside private agencies were hired to run these programs. However, all the personnel and counsellors who operate the clubs were trained by the national headquarters of EIC and were asked to adhere to the program as outlined in the *Counsellor's Manual for the Job Finding Club* (Mills, 1987).

The results from a three month follow-up of the 549 workers at the different regional centres who participated in the first phase of the pilot project showed an average placement rate of 70% with a range of 51% to 88% (Gibson & Mills, 1989). Although a high percentage of individuals who attend these club become re-employed, no detailed information is available on the type of jobs these persons obtained. Some of the key obstacles that counsellors identified among the over 45 job seekers were unwillingness to relocate, low educational levels, resistance to intensive job search efforts, and opposition to changing jobs. Evidence from the U.S., where job finding programs are also used, suggests these techniques work well for older workers and may produce better results than other re-employment initiatives (Cook, 1987).

Program for Older Worker Adjustment (POWA). This was an initiative for older workers shared between Ottawa and the provinces, at 70% and 30% respectively (Shrifrin, 1991). The program was announced in the May 1985 federal budget but covering legislation was not passed by the House of Commons until June 20, 1989 (CLMPC, 1990). It is probably an overstatement to call the POWA a "major initiative", as the program covered a limited number of potential older workers. In order to qualify a worker had to be between 55-64 years old, have lost a job as a result of a major permanent lay-off in the region, have worked 13 of the previous 20 years, be a Canadian citizen or permanent resident and have resided in Canada, and have no prospect of finding new employment or a realistic prospect that retraining or mobility will lead to the possibility of a job (Government of Canada, n.d.). In essence this program provided compensation for a select group of permanently laid-off workers affected by a plant or mine shut down in a region rather than helping them become re-employed (Economic Council of Canada, 1990). Because POWA did not attempt to get older workers back into the labour force it was considered a passive type of labour market policy (CLMPC, 1990). Another deficiency of the POWA as a means of dealing with unemployment among older workers was that it had restrictive eligibility criteria. The strategy was designed mainly to help older men who had lost jobs in manufacturing as a result of plant closures. There was also marked regional variation. Certain industries, such as manufacturing were more highly concentrated in central Canada than in other regions. Women were not specifically excluded from the program, but the combined eligibility criteria biased the program towards men. Given the employment pattern of women in this age cohort, especially a shortened job tenure, few would have received any benefit under this initiative.

Effectiveness of Programs to Assist Older Workers

Training, retraining, and job search assistance are some of the means that the state can offer to assist older workers to overcome some of the labour market barriers they face, and prevent them from becoming relegated to the secondary labour market. A number of programs have been set up in Canada and other countries, notably the U.S., to assist older workers in their search for work. Many of these programs include some variety of a job finding club or some other job searching assistance, but they have also included some retraining, as well as, on the job training (Cook, 1987). Evaluation of how well these programs work in helping older workers become re-employed has been the subject of research. Many of the studies are done with displaced workers, and others have evaluated other hard to employ workers.

Canadian studies. Most of the studies in Canada have been evaluations of JFCs in various parts of the country, and a limitation of this work is that they are not presented in the published research literature. Gibson and Mills (1989) prepared a report on the results of a pilot project for JFCs for older workers. The pilot was conducted to see if this model was effective in assisting older workers find work, and if changes needed to be made to the basic program not initially designed for older worker to make it more effective for this target group. Ten clubs were set-up with one in each of the ten provinces in Canada. These pilot JFCs restricted participation to unemployed workers 45 years or older. The total number of participants in the pilot was 698 and the average time they had been looking for work was 40 weeks. The study began November 1988 and a three month follow-up was done March 1989. The drop-out rate was 8% and of those remaining 70% had found employment by three months. Of these employed, 80% had full-time jobs and 62% experienced a decrease in salary. The most frequent sources of successful job leads were personal contacts through relatives and friends and cold calls to employers. Both counsellors and clients evaluated the JFCs positively.

In comparison with other JFCs run across Canada the re-employment rate was lower in the above study than it was for younger participants in Quebec (average age 23.5 years) in 1984-85 when 89% found jobs (Mills, 1987). It was also lower than for 194 younger participants (average age 21.3 years) two years later in St. John, New Brunswick of whom 95% found work; including a high percentage with little or no previous employment. However, it was higher for a group of 84 slightly older displaced factory workers (average age 32.3 years) in Montreal, Quebec around the same period, 1985-1987, when 58.3% got a job.

U.S. Studies. In the U.S. a large number of workers in a variety of industries have lost their jobs over the last few decades. In 1982 the U.S. Congress created a program in their Job Training Partnership Act (JTPA), called Title III, targeted towards experienced workers who had been permanently laid off (Harlan & Steinberg, 1989a). Many of these experienced workers would be classified as older workers and they had long job tenures in their previous jobs. Although most of the funding came from the federal government each state had complete authority over provision of services, distribution of resources, and recruitment of participants to the program. The programs began in 1983 and Cook (1987) selected nine of the projects for presentation as case studies. The projects selected were based on differences in local labour market conditions, organizations operating the projects, strategies used to provide services, and type of worker(s) displaced. The success rate of these projects ranged from 45% - 85% and on average the workers received lower pay in their post displacement jobs. Job search assistance and job clubs were widely used, and were generally rated favourably in helping workers get jobs. Local labour markets conditions were also important; workers in lower unemployment areas did better. One of the observations made was that a number of the older workers, displaced from certain industries, decided to leave the labour market rather than search for work.

Other experimental and quasi-experimental studies have been designed to look at effectiveness of re-employment programs. One such experimental study was conducted by Steinberg and Monforte (1987) to evaluate the re-employment programs designed to help workers from five automotive supply plants that were closed in the Michigan area. The study took place between 1980 and 1983. Participants in an experimental group were provided with job search assistance and training, while members of a control group were not. For both groups longer durations of unemployment were associated with being single, having lower educational levels, older age, and longer job tenures. However, there was evidence of substantial reduction in the length of time of unemployment for those in the experimental programs, suggesting these programs may help older workers find a job.

Leigh (1991) presented the findings from evaluations of four programs operated under the U.S. federally funded Comprehensive Employment and Training Act (CETA) programs between 1980 and 1987. The programs were conducted in different cities in the U.S. and targeted diverse groups of individuals, from men who had worked in the automobile industry in Detroit, to men who had professional jobs in petrochemical plants in Texas, to Hispanic women who lost jobs in light manufacturing in Texas. Various evaluation methods were also used, such as, a comparison of subjects with a similar random group of workers matched by occupation, random assignment to a treatment (retraining program), or a control (no retraining program) group, or self-selection to a treatment or a comparison group. Comparisons were made between the effectiveness of classroom training (CT), on-the-job training (OJT), job search assistance (JSA), and remedial education, or some combination of these programs. Although results varied somewhat by site, overall results suggest JSA was highly effective and cost-effective on outcomes, such as, placement and employment rates, subsequent earnings, and level of UI benefits. Effectiveness was not enhanced by CT and the numbers of those receiving OJT was too small to evaluate this strategy. Women and workers under 45 years seem to benefit more from the programs than men or older workers. The authors strongly recommends that JSA form the core of any services offered to displaced workers.

Other studies have used quasi-experimental methods to test the effectiveness of programs to assist workers find jobs. Rife and Belcher (1994) compared an aged-matched sample of fifty-two workers aged 50 years or over, half of whom attended a job search club and half of whom used traditional services to look for employment, on job finding success. The older workers who attended the job search club were more successful than the control group.

Other Government Actions

Two different time periods seemed to mark some major efforts and activities by the government on behalf of older workers. The first period was post-World War II when a number of women and older workers who had entered the labour market were displaced by those returning from service in the war. The second period was after the recession of the 1980s when older workers' problems again were highly visible due to a number of plant closures displacing a large number of these workers. There are some parallels between these two periods in the government's action on behalf of older workers; special committees set up and media blitzes to convince employers and the public that employment for older workers is important.

As early as 1950 the NES had special placement officers, at least in their larger offices, to deal with special categories of workers as noted in their first report to the

International Labour Organization (ILO) (Hunter, 1993). Among the group of special categories were older workers identified simply as "men and women in the older age groups" (p. 119). Then in 1951 the NES held a series of discussions with regional supervisors of these special placement officers (Canada's UI Commission, 1951). There was widespread agreement among this group of supervisors that older workers were in need of special assistance and counselling for their employment difficulties. Discrimination against specific groups, such as aging workers, was identified as an important problem. A further problem identified was a lack of prepared staff to deal with the special needs of older workers. In February 1951 a special Council was struck, the National Council on Manpower, to deal with continuing post war problems and the additional strains being placed on the staff at Unemployment Insurance Commission (UIC) which would become worse by the ending of the Korean War (Hunter, 1993). Among the recommendations of the special Council was that there was an urgent need for improved vocational training, in general, and employment assistance for disabled and older workers.

Interdepartmental Committee on Older Workers. A result of the discussions that took place in the National Council on Manpower was that the Interdepartmental Committee on Older Workers[7] was established in 1953 to deal exclusively with older workers. The committee consisted of representatives from the Departments of National Health and Welfare, Veterans Affairs, Labour, and UIC (Department of Labour, 1959a). Ian Campbell, a senior civil servant who seemed to champion the cause of older workers and who was the National Co-ordinator of Civilian Rehabilitation, was appointed as the chair and given special staff to address the problem on a full-time basis. The task of the division was "developing and administering a long-range program designed to alleviate the difficulties of older workers in obtaining and retaining employment", along with the specific task of giving "continuing study to the problem of the older worker and advise the labour department on remedial measures" (Campbell, 1960, p.25).

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[7] In reality this was a special division with a full-time staff, and is referred to as such, although its official name was the Interdepartmental Committee on Older Workers.

The interdepartmental committee published three major studies. The first was on pension plans and how they affected older worker's employment (Department of Labour, 1957), the second, on the aging of the workforce in the Canadian economy (Department of Labour, 1959b), and the third, on older workers in the retail trade (Department of Labour, 1959a). In conjunction with these studies the Economics and Research Branch of the Department of Labour asked S.D. Clark, a sociologist in the Political Economy Department of University of Toronto, to review the research findings on older worker's employment (Clark, 1959). The research he identified was predominantly American, but did include a few British studies. This research generally suggested that private pension plans were the single most important barrier to the employability of older workers. Employers felt that pensions for older workers would increase their costs, and as a consequence, they were hesitant to employ older workers. However, Clark discounted the primacy given to this and suggested that the existence of private pension plans also inhibited workers from leaving companies so that in the balance, the "effect upon employment of older workers is not as great as it appears" (p. 3). Clark argued that other factors, such as, preference for younger workers and perceived lower work capacity of older workers, were stronger barriers to their employment than required employer pension plan contributions.

The committee's second study, *The Aging Worker in the Canadian Economy* , was more of a summary of work done by the Interdepartmental Committee and an assessment of the current situation than a study of any one particular issue (Department of Labour, 1959b). One of the key features of this work was that the authors did attempt to come to terms with one of the thorny issues on the whole question of who is an older worker. They took on the task of how to define the older worker. Accordingly the definition they came up with was:

> A worker may be regarded as an older worker when his employability begins to become more limited because of his age: either his tenure in his job or the level of income he is earning from it becomes more precarious, or he is subject to age restrictions on hiring that would limit his opportunities should he have to look for work. (p. 1)

Committee on Older Workers. In the mid-eighties a ministerial request to the Canada Employment and Immigration Advisory Council (1985) resulted in the formation, once again, of a Committee on Older Workers to study the problems of this group. It was felt that their high rate of unemployment attributed to changes in the economy, technological developments, and the recession of the early eighties warranted such a study. The committee contacted and held discussions with employer organizations, worker organizations, unions, community-operated employment centres, academics, and focus groups of older unemployed workers throughout Canada. Among the barriers to re-employment for older workers identified were negative attitudes toward this group, de-valuation of their skills, high reservation wage, lack of job search skills, the strong desire of older workers not to relocate for a new job, and lack of understanding by job counsellors of the concerns of older workers. Older workers in the focus groups voiced concerns that they felt they had been "taken for granted and largely ignored in the past" (p. 23).

The ten recommendations made by the committee were: 1) community-operated job placement and counselling centres both for older workers and for those companies cutting their workforce be established; 2) unemployment insurance changes take into consideration older workers' differing situations; 3) CJS target older workers more specifically and that retraining programs in general consider the older worker; 4) any pension reform policies take into consideration those older worker faced with early retirement; 5) incentives be given to employers to hire older workers; 6) a national campaign dispelling myths about the older worker and promoting their strengths be established and employers be targeted; 7) employers be encouraged to permit "bridging" toward retirement in the form of reduced work hours for older workers; 8) consultations begin with employers, so that large scale lay-offs and closures would be governed by rules to protect older workers; 9) increased financial backing be given to firms located in single-industry towns, where closure would disproportionately affect older workers; and 10) financial and training assistance be provided to older workers who wish to set up a small business. The Committee came to the conclusion that the problems of older workers were not being addressed and urged the timely adoption of the recommendations by Government.

Charting a course for older workers. While the above report was well received and widely distributed, a year later the Canadian Employment and Immigration Advisory Council (CEIAC) felt that little action had been taken. They presented a paper entitled *Charting a Clear Course for a National Older Worker* 's *Program*, as a supplement to their original report to the Minister of Employment and Immigration, the Honourable Benoit Bouchard, on what course of action needed to be followed (CEIAC, 1986). In the paper they identified the group between 55 and 64 years as being especially hard hit, that past programs such as ILAP had been too narrow in terms of geography and industry, and that existing adjustment programs and safety nets were unequally distributed among older workers. While they believed those in the 45-54 year old age group could be assisted under present arrangements they felt that if the older group, i.e., those 55-64 years, were not specially assisted that their problems were likely to become chronic.

CEIC while supporting the 10 recommendations from the previous report by the Committee on Older Workers was concerned " . . . that there are currently too many streams within the system delivering too many programs in isolation from each other" (CEIAC, 1986, p.11). To address this problem they advocated for a single centre for older workers which addressed their individual problems, but also reiterated the importance of a national campaign advocating older workers and special initiatives to encourage employers to hire older workers.

Public education. In keeping with the recommendation to advocate on behalf of older workers, in 1990 the federal government revived the strategy from the late 1950s and early 1960s of educating both workers and employees on the value of employing older workers as was recommended by CEIAC Committee on Older Workers and the CLMPC Task Force. The most recent publications by EIC are *Information on older workers in Canada* (1993b) directed towards workers, and *Hiring older workers: A guide for employers* (1993a) for potential employers to encourage them to hire older workers. These publications stress the value of older workers and attempt to deal with some of the prevailing myths regarding this group. Although greatly updated these publications are reminiscent of the older government publications of the late 1950s. The UIC issued a pamphlet in 1959 *How old is old?* (Unemployment Insurance Commission, 1959) in an effort to assist older workers with re-employment. The pamphlet was targeted at workers, employers, and the general public, and had a series of case studies on older workers. The pamphlet was reissued again in 1965 unchanged except for the preface and this time published by the NES (National Employment Service, 1965). The pamphlet was the basis of a film of the same name which was widely shown to audiences, such as the Chambers of Commerce and Industrial Relations and Employment Associations meetings (Sobel & Wilcock, 1966). High ranking employment service officials attended the screenings of the film and addressed the groups who attended the screenings in an effort to debunk common myths about older workers and emphasize their strengths as employees. The 1990s' version is to run a television advertisement extolling the value of an older worker.

Task force on older workers. The Canadian Labour Market and Productivity Centre (CLMPC) set up a series of consultations in the form of seven Task Forces to identify factors which would prevent the national labour force of the 1990s from being prepared to meet the challenges of the labour market. One of the Task Forces was on older workers,[8] with the mandate to "examine the problems older workers experience in finding re-employment after job losses and to put forth recommendations to assist older workers" (CLMPC, 1990, p.44). Among the findings of the Task Force was that the participation rate of 45-54 year olds in the labour market had increased since 1976, while that of the 55-64 year olds during the same period had decreased significantly, resulting in an overall decrease in the older worker participation rate. Changes in the male and female participation rates were also evident in the findings. Older women in contrast to older men had contributed significantly to an overall increase in the participation rate. Unemployment rates were lower for older workers than for any other age group, but periods of unemployment were of longer duration. While recognizing that the issue of older workers was broad, recommendations made by the Task force to assist older displaced workers were: 1) improve co-ordination of labour market programs; 2) have improved estimates of employment opportunities by region and occupation; 3) give priority to job counselling through CECs and have specialized services for older workers; 4) have CECs provide employment counselling to older workers before they are displaced; 5) provide additional support, but not as a wage subsidy, to employers to train and employ older displaced workers; 6) remove waiting periods for eligibility to CJS programs for this group; 7) design appropriate retraining programs, encourage workplace literacy programs and literacy programs to unemployed older workers; 8) provide greater financial assistance to help older unemployed workers to relocate; 9) educate employers about the benefits of older employees; and 10) change regulations on how severance pay and pension income affect eligibility for UI benefits.

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[8] The other six Task Forces were Programs for Unemployment Insurance Beneficiaries, Programs for Social Assistance Recipients, Human Resource Planning, Co-operative Education, Apprenticeship, and Entry-Level Training. There is considerable overlap of characteristics of older workers with those of individuals falling in the first and second Task Forces above.

Government's Position Towards Older Workers

An analysis of the type of programs the federal government has designed and supported for older workers demonstrates that throughout the years since this government has had the mandate for employment services, they have had less than a firm commitment towards retraining older workers. While the design of the programs for older workers was heavily weighted towards income replacement, or at best, assisting with job finding, they were not thought of as retraining. In fact some of the discussions held around retraining and older workers were illuminating as to the governments' position or the position they ought to adopt toward this group. In Marsh's (1943/1975) *Report on Social Security for Canada* , which he presented to the House of Commons Special Committee on Social Security in 1943, although he emphasized training and retraining as an approach to occupational readjustment in his section on employment, he did admit that when he saw these efforts directed towards older, and middle-aged workers, it was more in the nature of "rehabilitation". He acknowledged this rehabilitation was difficult and "impossible without specialized attention and "case work", and the cooperative goodwill of employers" (Marsh, 1943/1975, p. 90). Rehabilitation, rather than retraining, was more often the approach for older workers.

More recently as assistance for older workers the CJS programs in general came under considerable criticism before government hearings. The Sub-committee on Training and Employment of the Standing Committee on Social Affairs, Science and Technology (1987) was informed that older workers were one of the groups which experienced widespread restrictions when it came to access to these programs. Kumar (1991), more generally, criticized the CJS as, "too complex, bureaucratic, inadequate, reactive rather than proactive, ad hoc and uncoordinated with social policies" (p. 9). On the whole the government puts more emphasis on unemployment among younger age groups which it perceives to be more problematic, and also to have greater saliency with business, and certainly, with the general public who are the electorate. Therefore, there are more social and political pressures for governments to initiate programs, which address the problems of youth unemployment, rather than to tackle the problems of older unemployed workers (CLMPC, 1990). Social and political attitudes are more strongly in favour of retraining younger workers and getting them re-employed than in retraining and re-employing older workers.

Tensions the government have faced continuously are what type of policy to institute to assist the older worker, in which policy domain, and how to coordinate policies. The older worker experiencing employment difficulties would appear to be primarily a labour market problem, and therefore, amenable to labour market policy, however, as Haddow (1993) demonstrated, because many older unemployed workers find themselves overrepresented among poverty groups amelioration of their situation has been a contested area by public welfare policy and labour market policy. In reality many older worker problems have been handled through social security policy measures, e.g., retirement policies, rather than through economic policies, even though, economic factors play a crucial role in the re-employment of older workers. Canada is not alone in experiencing this tension. OECD (1995b) identifies policy coherence as one of the public policy concerns for an older workforce. In a number of member countries income replacement rather than a proactive stance to help older workers find a job is the preferred policy option when unemployment occurs among this group.

Economic Factors and Effects on Older Workers

An important question to address in discussing labour market segmentation by age and gender is whose interest does this division serve? Rueschemeyer (1986) in examining the role of power in the division of labour contends "the interests of the powerful and the conflicts among groups with different power resources critically shape the processes that advance [a] division of labour or block it and that determines the form it takes" (p. 2-3).

Edwards (1979) in his book *Contested Terrain* traced the evolution of capitalism's control over workers through various approaches, such as, welfare capitalism, scientific management, unionism, technical control, and bureaucratic control, with the latter being the medium through which capitalist power was institutionalized and which served to "hasten political interventions" (p. 161). A more recent form of control is structural with economic structures increasingly impinging on different worker groups.

Structural control continues to influence the segmentation of the working class through changes in society and the economy that further contribute to and alter the patterns of stratification (Form, 1995). There are a number of economic factors influencing the labour market segmentation of workers by age, and these are evident in the changes in the economy and how the older worker is affected (Betcherman, et al., 1994; Chaykowski, 1996). Corporate restructuring is an increasingly important phenomenon that is shaping the economy of the country. A consequence of restructuring is it increases the polarization in the labour market, and this has far-reaching implications for both workers and employers (Banting, Beach, & Betcherman, 1995). Business and government in the 1990s in an attempt to cut costs have restructured their workforces, getting rid of labour and expecting greater productivity from the employees who remain. One of the tools of restructuring are early retirement schemes and firms have adopted "open windows" policy to encourage more workers in the 50-55 year age group to retire (Doeringer, et al., 1991). Older workers seem to be differentially affected by restructuring through the use of early retirement programs, because almost invariably job tenure and age in some combination, are the two qualifying conditions for an early retirement, and older employees are usually the only workers eligible for such benefits (Rife, 1995). Involuntary retirement as opposed to voluntary retirement may mark a number of this group who wish to remain in the labour market. As high as 35% of persons 45-59 years old are involuntary early retirees (Schellenberg, 1996).

Comparing the responses of men on the 1989 and 1994 Canadian General Social Surveys Monette (1996) found that an increasing number of men (7%) said they retired because they were unable to find work. Ten percent of the men surveyed in 1994 stated inability to find work as the reason for leaving the work force and becoming retired. Another 10% retired because of early retirement programs and downsizings, while around 25% stated they retired by choice. The author did not examine women's retirement because of the differences in the concept of retirement among men and women, thus making comparisons difficult. While early retirement is an issue there are other consequences of restructuring for older workers, for example, contingent work, worker displacement, and underemployment.

Contingent Workers

Early segmentation theorists did not consider outwork important to labour market segmentation, rather at first it was considered "marginal", however, increasingly it may be one of the fastest growing forms of secondary employment (Rubery & Wilkinson, 1981). One of the marked changes in the labour force in part caused by restructuring is less attachment by workers to specific organizations (Chaykowski, 1996). Since the 1980s there has been a rise of the contingent workforce;[9] workers who move from job to job and have no benefits or security associated with their jobs (Polivka & Nardone, 1989). While contingent work is also known as "non-standard" work or "atypical work" and has a number of forms (Krahn, 1991), the concept is being used more narrowly here to refer to those workers who take on contractual work for companies to supply services that were once part of a regular job in that company. Older workers are increasingly finding themselves among this new group of workers (Sagel, 1993). Companies under restructuring are examining their workforce and deciding which employees they need in their new environment. Some jobs can be outsourced or contracted out, which means that companies have at their disposal a separate workforce, only for the actual time they are needed. In contingent work arrangements, including the more inclusive non-standard employment, work has become less secure than it once was, and young people, women in the service sector, older workers, and workers in selected industries are especially affected by these trends (American Association of Retired Persons, 1995; Krahn, 1991). This is not a totally new phenomenon, but is the "reserve army of labour" referred to by a number of authors commenting on the condition of older unemployed or similarly disadvantaged workers (Keyssar, 1986; Offe, 1985). Outwork does provide a mechanism for accessing a reserve supply of labour, for example, older workers and women, and doing so at a low cost.

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[9] Freedman (cited in Polivka & Nardone, 1989) coined the phrase "contingent employment arrangements" (p. 9) in the mid 1980s to capture some of the employment relationships developing where labour was contracted for short periods for specific labour demands, but it has since come to mean any work not full-time with a permanent salary or wage.

Worker Displacement

Unemployment can be either voluntary or involuntary and generally results from leaving a job, i.e., worker initiated, or losing a job, i.e., firm initiated (Lemaitre, Picot, & Murray, 1992). Workers who become unemployed through these two mechanisms are referred to as job quitters and job losers respectively. The job losers are generally the displaced workers. In 1992 losing a job was a significantly more important cause of unemployment for workers over 45 years than quitting a job; 81% of the unemployed in that age group lost a job compared with the 19% who quit a job. The quit rate declines with age and at 2.4% is lowest among persons 55 to 64 years as compared with other age groups (Picot & Baldwin, 1990).

There are definite gender differences in terms of quitting or losing a job. A higher percentage of unemployed older women (23%) than a comparative group of men (16%), are job quitters. Men are more likely to lose their jobs. These findings from Canada are consistent with those from the U.S. which reveal that almost 4 times as many people find themselves among the unemployed, because of a job loss compared with a job quit and that women more frequently quit their jobs (Sinclair, 1987). The reason why more women quit their jobs is frequently related to the fact they are unable to combine family demands with job demands, so they are forced to quit their job and look for one which will permit them to take care of family responsibilities.

The finding that men more frequently lose than quit their job may be explained by structural changes in work. Men, particularly older men, are more highly concentrated in occupations that are experiencing permanent layoffs, such as, in construction and the primary industries, and this would account for their higher rate of losing jobs (Schellenberg, 1994). Older workers who leave a job either through a job loss or quit or who are seeking re-entry to the labour market after an absence from paid employment may be particularly vulnerable to unemployment (Devereaux, 1995). They may also have more difficulty finding stable employment if they manage to find a job (Heisz, 1996). In the period from 1981 to 1994 older workers have had the largest decline in tenure of a new job. During that period the decline in new jobs lasting greater than 12 months was greater for those 55-64 years than those 45-54 years.

A special category of unemployed are displaced workers. A displaced worker is a person who has lost her or his job because of a plant closing, an employer going out of business, or a layoff without recall (Seitchik, 1991). Displacements result in permanent loss of jobs. CARNET (1995) prepared a working document on *Displaced Workers and the Aging Workforce*, and among the findings was that while older workers in Canada are not more likely to be displaced than younger workers, when they lose their jobs they experience more difficulty with re-employment and have longer durations of unemployment. Some of their re-employment problems are related to having a lower level of general education than younger workers, but not all.

Three changes in the labour market that are resulting in displacement are increased globalization, deindustrialization (Drache, 1989), and privatization of the public sector (Martin, 1993), and these seem to differentially affect older workers. Globalization, together with free trade, has shifted the locality of many labour markets, moving production from western economies to off-shore production, and has resulted in the deindustrialization of some regions of the world and new industrial development in others (Drache & Gertler, 1991). This process has affected men and women of various age groups differently (Cohen, 1987). Between 1981-1984 as many as 36% of job losses in Canada were attributed to plant closures or relocation; accounting for the single largest cause of job loss (Picot & Wannell, 1987). In the U.S. nearly one-fifth of displaced workers are older workers (Doeringer, et al., 1991). Workers in goods producing industries were most at risk in the period between 1979-1985, but since that time mid-level managers and professionals have been increasingly affected. The recession of the early 1990s may have hit more managers and professionals because of the nature of jobs lost; creating a new type of "unemployed".

Many of the industries involved typically employ more older workers so when plants close or relocate these workers are displaced. In some of the industries which are affected, such as, the textile industries, there is a heavy concentration of women, many of them older, who lose their jobs (Cohen, 1987). Thus a major effect of globalization seems to be a redistribution of jobs to less developed countries from the more developed countries, and a parallel redistribution of jobs to younger workers in the less developed countries from older workers in the more developed countries contributing to a new division of labour; an international division of labour.

Privatization of the public sector has been occurring at an increasing rate since the early 1980s (Martin, 1993). Canada in the period after World War II developed a mixed economy with a large strong public sector as part of the economy. In a move to reform the public sector, privatization, commercialization, and deregulation of government services have all become important means to increase the efficiency in government, or at least that is the rationale given by governments. Large numbers of public employees have been forced into early retirement or made to compete with other unemployed workers for jobs in the private sector.

These economic changes are influencing the unemployment experiences of older workers, in particular their length of unemployment. Older workers experience longer periods of unemployment than workers in other age groups and thus are more vulnerable to long-term unemployment (Corak & Heisz, 1995; Lindsay & Devereaux, 1991; Morissette, 1993). The definition of long-term unemployment varies. OECD (1988) defines it as unemployment lasting longer than a year, but within Canada it is generally considered to be unemployment which lasts longer than six months (Corak, 1990; Rahman & Gera, 1990). Rahman and Gera (1990) reported that in 1989 those workers over 45 years had over twice the duration of unemployment than those in the 15-24 age group. Similarly, Lindsay (1991) found that long-term unemployment accounted for 16% of the older unemployed workers, compared with 12% of those 25-44, and 5% among the youths, 15-24 years. In 1993 the length of unemployment increased by three to four weeks for workers 55 to 64 years old (Morissette, 1993).

According to Statistics Canada (1993b) the average duration of unemployment of Canadian workers aged 45 years and over in 1992 was 28.4 weeks. Canadian males over 45 had the highest average length of unemployment at 29.6 weeks as compared with males in the other age groups, and compared with women. Older women on average experienced 26.6 weeks of unemployment. Between 1990 and 1992 the incidence of long term unemployment, i.e., being unemployed and looking for work for more than a year, doubled for men 45 and over. Generally the incidence of long term unemployment has been increasing with age. Canada is not alone in this respect, older workers have also been shown to have long durations of unemployment in European countries especially among those in the European Economic Countries (EEC) (OECD, 1988; Standing, 1986). The finding that older worker's unemployment duration is prolonged strongly suggests they have special difficulties with re-employment (Employment and Immigration Canada, 1989b).

Underemployment and Older Workers

Although considered employed there are some workers who would not consider themselves "ideally" employed. These are the persons who would be classified as underemployed. One sub-category in this group are those working part-time, but would prefer a full-time job if one were available. These are the involuntary part-time workers (Akyeampong, 1987a). The percentage of Canadians who found themselves in involuntary part-time work increased by 374% between 1975 and 1986. Although, young women and men aged 15-24 make up the largest percentage of involuntary part-time workers there has also been an increase in part-time employment among older workers, more so than in any other age group (CLMPC, 1990). While some of the part-time work is voluntary and is also used as a bridge to retirement, it is not so for all older workers (Doeringer, 1990).

Of those Canadians over 45 years working part-time in 1992, 30.9% stated the reason for their job status was they could only find part-time work. The percentage was higher for men (35.9%) than for women (29.5%). Older men, 55 years and older, form the smallest proportion in this group. Differences are marked by industry, with service-producing industries having the greatest proportion of involuntary part-time employment; an industry in which older workers tend to become re-employed. For older workers in the U.S., Doeringer and co-researchers (1991) also noted an increase in the percent who hold part-time jobs.

McDonald and Wanner (1992) examined the extent of part-time work among older workers in Canada. They used data from the January Labour Force Survey in 1986 and

The Displaced Workers Supplement to the Labour Force Survey to determine if part-time work was a risk or an opportunity for older workers. Their focus was on the quality of part-time work. Older workers were those 55 to 64 and 65 to 69 years. They found women were more likely to work part-time, especially married women, as were those working in the tertiary industries where service industries are found, and those displaced from a job. Educational qualification made little difference. They concluded that while part-time work is an important opportunity for those in the 55-64 year old group, who wish to have a bridging job to full retirement, it is the quality of this chance that they question. Fringe benefits, skill development, salary, and occupational prestige are not a feature of part-time work.

Likewise for the U.S., Golden (1992) examined part-time employment of older workers. His focus was on the marginalization of older workers through part-time work and the impact that contingent work arrangements and early retirement had on this marginalization. He used a dual labour market framework to analyze this problem and used information from a number of sources and studies in the U.S. to support the claim that contingent work and early retirement are contributing to a number of older workers, 55 and older, becoming increasingly employed in the secondary labour market. He suggests that "innovative" corporate policies and legislation governing the status of part-time work are urgently required to improve the situation for older workers.

Another type of underemployment defined by Leana and Feldman (1992) is employment in jobs "requiring significantly fewer skills and paying significantly lower wages than the jobs they left" (p. 97). There is a good deal of evidence from studies of plant closing that this type of underemployment is prevalent among older workers who were displaced from well paying manufacturing, or middle management jobs, into service jobs (Gordus, Jarley, & Ferman, 1981; Grayson, 1986a)[10]. In fact this type of underemployment seems to be the norm for older workers, who are displaced and become re-employed, strongly suggesting that labour market segmentation is occurring increasingly among older workers.

Responses by Business

While some employers and businesses are demonstrating concern regarding older workers, it is not widespread. The Hudson Institute (Towers Perrin, 1991) surveyed a number of organizations to study some of the issues confronting businesses. A questionnaire was sent out to over 1,500 national organizations, both in the private and public sectors, to elicit their views on demographic and labour force changes affecting the labour market within Canada. One of the purposes of the survey was to gauge employers' level of concern regarding an aging workforce. The response rate was low, only 29% or 437 organizations responded. However, among these respondents there was a low level of concern about the aging workforce, in spite of the fact that at least a third of their workforce was over age 40. For 64% of the respondents the aging workforce was not yet a concern, 17% reported being concerned, but having no plans to deal with the issue, 13% reported it had influenced management decisions, and only 6% had incorporated it into strategic plans for the organization. The authors believed that the emphasis on early retirement and incentives to retire over the past 10 years or so had an impact on the low level of concern about older workers. In 67% of the companies surveyed, the average retirement age for employees ranged from 60-65 years. Furthermore, 33% provided incentives for early retirement while only 4% provided incentives for postponed retirement. Only 7% of the respondents reported special recruiting efforts directed toward older workers (>50 years) or retirees.[11]

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[10] Specific studies related to how older workers fare in re-employment were discussed in greater depth previously in this chapter which summarized the findings re. older workers from some plant closing studies.

Researchers at the Canadian Aging Research Network (CARNET) (1996) conducted a series of seven case studies among employees at Sun Life Assurance Company of Canada, Prudential Insurance Company of America, NOVA Corporation, a Montreal garment industry, a New York garment industry, and former employees of Bell Canada to examine issues of the aging workforce. The overall goals of the project included determining awareness, attitudes, practices, and policies of employees, employers, and unions in these industries to the changing age structure and the aging of the workforce. In the study of NOVA Corporation, managers were divided in terms of their knowledge of retirement policies and programs, 76% reported that the company had incentives for early retirement and 13% thought they did not have such policies, while 11% were not aware of what policies existed (CARNET, 1996). Overall from the series of studies the authors concluded that older employees are vulnerable to restructuring in the workplace, and policies are not as protective as they could be for the older worker.

In the fall of 1994 *Perspectives* had a one day symposium entitled "Greying of the workforce" bringing together researchers, employers, workers, representatives from labour unions and other groups concerned with older workers (Devereaux, 1995). The participants identified a number of issues affecting older workers, such as ageism as a factor in employment and re-employment, a lack of mechanisms in many private firms for managing an aging workforce, and generally, only "isolated and unco-ordinated" efforts to assist older workers (p. 37).

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[11] Of special interest for this study, fourteen percent of the respondents were located in Alberta: For example, AGT Ltd., Alberta Energy Co. Ltd., Alberta Municipalities Association, Alberta Wheat Pool, Canada Safeway Ltd., and ESSO Resources Canada Ltd.

Summary

Within capitalist societies where labour is seen as another commodity age has long been recognized as a labour market risk or screening device frequently used by employers to allocate jobs. Gender intersects with this risk to create different labour market experiences for men and women. The literature reviewed supports the belief that the unemployed older worker problem is complex with no easily identified solutions. Some of the complexity stems from individual attributes of specific older workers, but more frequently from social, political, and economic factors that affect their chances of re-employment success. What is evident from the literature is that older workers experience increased difficulty finding a job because of age and gender; both these attributes influence their re-employment success.

Re-employment studies following plant closure and surveys of displaced workers suggest that age has fairly consistently had a negative effect on workers' success. What these studies demonstrate is that generally older workers, as compared with younger workers, have longer periods of unemployment, lower successful re-employment rates, higher rates of withdrawal from the labour market, a greater loss of salary, and more movement to a job with a lower skill level. In addition, these studies are suggestive of gender differences. Men usually have better re-employment success than women. Both plant closing studies and surveys of displaced older workers are strongly suggestive of age and gender leading to increased market segmentation. Older workers end up more frequently in jobs in the secondary labour market upon re-employment and receive lower wages.

Studies of job searching behaviour of unemployed individuals also suggest differences between men and women, and older and younger workers, in the type and intensity of methods of job-search used. Furthermore results from studies examining the job seeking behaviour of these individuals suggest, that together with age and gender, skill level, educational attainment, occupational membership, and duration of unemployment make a difference to the use and intensity of job-search methods. Older workers seem to search less intensely than younger workers and use fewer job search methods than do younger workers. Men appear to employ more active methods, while women depend more on passive methods.

The literature reviewed is suggestive of some of the factors, other than individual factors, which may impinge on older workers' re-employment success. Some of these are continued negative attitudes toward older workers, and their abilities, or misconceptions about this group's need for continued employment. Other related factors are continued age and gender discrimination and less saliency of the importance of older workers' problems. Despite lobbying groups strongly advocating on behalf of older workers, government policies and business response towards older workers and their re-employment difficulties are other factors that impinge on re-employment success for this group.

Government and business have not had a strong response to older workers when it comes to re-employment policies or programs. Neither labour market adjustment programs developed by government, nor retraining programs offered by business have had as a major emphasis the needs of older workers. In fact the favoured response by both government and business is to support and institute early retirement programs, rather than retaining and reintegrating older workers in the labour market. Finally older workers success with re-employment is influenced by general economic conditions. Labour market conditions have been consistently shown to influence the effect that age and gender may have. When labour market conditions are generally more favourable, older workers' and women's difficulty with re-employment is less apparent than when conditions are less favourable.

For the present study the issue is not whether younger or older workers have more difficulties with re-employment, clearly there are differences as numerous studies have demonstrated, rather, the importance lies in clearly explicating what happens within the so-called "older worker" group as they search for re-employment within a government supported labour adjustment program. One of the objectives of the study is to identify which of the sub-groups among older workers at a JFC will be more successful in finding re-employment. These sub-groups are defined by age and gender. A second objective is to identify what factors may influence these different sub-groups re-employment success. An assumption guiding the study is that individuals in the 45-64 year old age group who attend the JFC are not a homogeneous group, nor are they treated as such in the labour market. A further assumption is that men and women have different re-employment experiences because employment varies widely for older men and women (Coplon, 1997; Shaw, 1987, 1988 #499). A proposition for the present study is that increasing labour market segmentation will be evident among this group of workers despite the efforts of the JFC program to place all the older workers in suitable employment based on workers' skills. Younger men, those 45-54 years, will be more successful in finding a job, followed by women in that age group, and older men and women, those over 55 years, will have more difficulty. It is also expected that the younger women and men will experience less movement into lower paid and less skilled jobs than their older counterparts, however, labour market conditions may affect all age groups re-employment success.

In summary the present study will seek to answer, first, how age and gender affect re-employment success among older workers attending a JFC, and second, how older workers see their situation. Re-employment success is defined by whether or not the person obtains a job and if that job compares favourably with their previous job on the basis of salary and level of skill required to do the job. The first part of the study is carried out through an examination of the JFC records of older workers who took part in a specific labour market adjustment program and through an analysis of labour market indicators for the period under study.

The second part of the study is accomplished through structured interviews with a group of older workers who attended the JFC to explore their experiences more fully. Topics explored that help understand some of the difficulties these workers confront in their search for re-employment are covered under four main categories. First, are those that are employment related, and these cover the participants' employment histories, for example, years worked and tenure of last job, job stability over the past ten years, characteristics of last job, and changes they saw in the workplace and work over the past five years, especially effects of technology on work. Second, are those related to searching for work and include, job search methods, problems they experienced as older workers searching for work, their financial situation and retirement plans, and attitudes toward finding a job, occupational mobility, and retraining. Third, they were asked to reflect on what it means to be an older worker, how they were defined as an older worker by employers and occupation, their subjective age, and about age and gender discrimination. In the fourth, and final category, participants are asked about the political and social consequences of being an unemployed older worker, in particular, their degree of confidence in societal institutions, support for government actions, and life satisfaction.

The study overcomes some of the limitations of past research on age and gender in the labour market, particularly those used to follow-up participants in labour market adjustment programs. One of the limitations of past research in understanding the older workers and their situation is the type of studies that have been done. They have either been part of a local study that looked at a specific plant closing or were part of a large scale survey. In the former type of studies we lose some of the difficulties experienced by older workers in comparison with other age groups because of differences in outcome measures by age. In the latter we are not always able to identify how local labour market conditions, or how the experiences of those displaced, may affect their re-employment success because these variables are not usually included in the study. The present study combines data, from the re-employment records of the older workers, with how the older workers themselves interpreted their situation as unemployed older workers, in an attempt to address those limitations. It also considers these experiences within the context of a labour market adjustment program and an increasingly segmented local labour market.

CHAPTER 3

METHODOLOGY

Only if markets are viewed not simply as resource allocation machines, but as social constructs that serve a social function, will the role of organizational structure, technological innovations, and cultural norms and habits be integrated more centrally into economic analysis.

Heilbroner and Milberg (1995) (p. 105)
The crisis of vision in modern economic thought

The social issue or phenomenon selected for this research is how age and gender influence re-employment success of older workers participating in a labour market adjustment program in a local labour market, and to what extent labour market segmentation becomes more marked among these older workers when they obtain re-employment. More specifically, it is a study of women and men between the ages of 45-54 and 55-64 years who attended the Job Finding Club (JFC) in a western Canadian city while looking for work. JFC records for a group of workers are supplemented by interviews with selected participants, among those attending the JFC, to examine how they fared in their search for work and how they saw their situation as unemployed older workers looking for work. The study attempts to examine in depth how well older workers are assisted in a labour market adjustment program that is specifically designed to help them find a job. The research is both a descriptive and an analytical study, based on the JFC experiences of these workers within a local labour market between November 1988 and January 1993, when the last follow-up was done.

There are two main sources of data for the study and these are both described in detail under the methods section: 1) summary records that contain sociodemographic and employment data on 636 workers who attended the JFC between November 1988 and October 1992 with the final follow-up January 1993; and 2) interviews with 57 selected workers who attended or were attending the JFC. This chapter contains a definition of an older worker, definition of job finding success and deskilling, a description of the setting, i.e., the JFC and the local labour market conditions, subjects, methods, data sources, data analysis, and ethical considerations.

Definition of an Older Worker

Although no consensus exists, a commonly accepted definition of an older worker today is a "person 45 years and older", though frequently it had the caveat, "and having difficulty finding employment because of [older] age". While it is difficult to trace the origin of this definition, it is now widely accepted (Statistics Canada, 1992a). A survey of definitions of older workers found in the literature from the 1940s onward shows the variation among the definitions of an older worker (see Appendix A). A content analysis of these definitions revealed that up until 1960 the definition was usually a specific age together with the fact the worker was having difficulty because of that age. After the late 1960s and early 1970s definitions in Canada while citing an age group, did not relate that age to difficulty with work, perhaps reflecting the move away from the suggestion that discriminatory practices in employment might be based on age.

Some notion of an "older worker" has been around for a long time. The first definition located was in Leonard Marsh's (1940) classic study, *Canadians In and Out of Work* published in 1940. The study which was part of the Social Science Research Project at McGill University was on the relationship of the different economic classes to the labour market in Canada and the employment conditions of the 1930s. Marsh identified two groups of older workers, those 55-64 years and those 65 years and over, however, he acknowledged the difficulty in deciding on the age grouping for such a categorization as older worker, because, "unfortunately there are insufficient data to measure at all reliably the population "at risk" of occupational obsolescence" (Marsh, 1940, p. 317). The study identified older workers as more than likely being a disadvantaged group. In his study

Marsh noted that some of those between 55-64 years were having increased difficulty with employment as a result of their age and as evidenced by the fact that workers 55 years and over were disproportionately represented among those in the "Relief Statistics" (Marsh, 1940, p. 317).

At the first National Conference on Aging held in the U.S., where participants grappled with how to define an older worker, a rather tautological definition was agreed upon: "An older worker is an adult who meets with resistance to employment, continued employment or re-employment solely because of his age" (National Conference on the Aging, 1950, p. 72). Elements of this definition appeared to be incorporated into most of the subsequent definitions of older workers. More recent definitions of older workers are offered by Statistics Canada (1989b; 1991a; 1992a). In their publications on profiles of *Canada's Older Workers*, they define the older worker as those 45 years of age and older. At least one publication from Ontario (Ontario Human Rights Commission, 1970) used 40 years of age to define the older worker and the U.S. Department of Labour uses age 40 years and older as the criteria for defining older workers (Palmore, 1990). The most current definition located by *One Voice, the Canadian Seniors Network* avoids a reference to age in the label and refers to individuals 45 years and older simply as "experienced workers" (Schellenberg, 1997a).

Age and labour markets. Theoretical discussions of age and the labour market are less specific when it comes to the older worker. A distinction is made between "youth" and "adult" labour markets (Ashton, et al., 1990). However, the general category adult is too broad a term as there is as much age-based variation within the so-called adult labour market as there is between the youth and adult labour markets. For example, within the adult labour market there are at least two generally recognized distinct groups of older workers, those aged 45-64 years and those 65 years and older. The widespread presence of mandatory retirement at age 65 years and the institution of an Old Age Security system at the same age account for most of the differences between those under and those over 65 years.

Increasingly on certain labour market indicators, such as occupational structure and participation rates, distinct differences are noted between workers who are 45-54 years old and those 55-64 years old (OECD, 1995a; Schellenberg, 1994). This finding suggests that social and economic changes, now affecting the labour market for older workers, will mean the group 45-64 years may be becoming further segmented into two distinct groups, or four, if we take gender into consideration. McDonald and Chen (1993) suggest that it would be more accurate to talk about the middle-aging of the labour force rather than aging, as paid employment seems to be dominated more by the 45-54 year old group, rather than those 55 years and older. Some authors make a distinction by using the term mid-life to capture the group who are 45-54 years old (Wigdor & Foot, 1988) and reserve the term older worker for those 55 years and older (Doeringer, et al., 1991; Laczko, 1990; OECD, 1995b). Others have used the term mid-life for those 45-64 years (McDaniel, 1996), while yet others use the term older worker to encompass all those 45 years and older (Schellenberg, 1994; Statistics Canada, 1989b).

Operational definitions. For the purposes of this study and in order to examine the combined effect of age and gender, and recognizing that 45 to 64 years may cover too wide a range of re-employment experiences, workers are divided into four groups, women aged 45-54 years identified as mid-aged women, men aged 45-54 years identified as mid-aged men, women aged 55-64 years identified as older women, and men aged 55-64 years identified as older men. A comparison is made among these four groups of worker's re-employment experiences. The age groupings were based on the evidence in the previous chapter that the group 55-64 years appears to have more employment difficulties, and of a different nature, than those 45-54 years. Workers 65 years and older are not being considered in this study, although, some problems described may be similar for all older worker groups. This is not to negate the importance of problems of workers over 65 years who wish to work, however, the fairly widespread requirement of mandatory retirement coupled with the social consensus around retirement at that age makes their situation very different.

Definition of Re-employment Success and Deskilling

Re-employment success is the main dependent variable used in the study and it simply refers to whether a person had a job at the end of the JFC and at the three month follow-up, or not, regardless of the type of job or in what occupation the person obtained re-employment. It is acknowledged that there are other measures of re-employment success than whether or not a person obtains a job and these are crucial to consider when using a labour market segmentation perspective. Leana and Feldman (1992) suggest that in re-employment studies we at least ought to ask whether or not the new job is as good as the previous job the person had. There are two measures commonly used in response to this question. These measures are changes in salary and decreased skill level, sometimes referred to as "deskilling" or occupational downgrading.

Changes in salary level are presented with some caution. Because full-time or part-time status of jobs were not stated, especially for the participants' previous jobs, some of the annual earnings may have been underestimated for a number of individuals who reported their salary as an annual or monthly salary. Hourly wages were computed into an annual salary based on full-time employment. For other participants it was not possible to estimate their annual earnings, especially, with new jobs. The reason for this was a number of workers were re-employed in sales and services occupations, and as a consequence, were receiving either a commission, or a combination of a low monthly salary plus a commission, in their new jobs. It was impossible to estimate with any degree of accuracy what these participants earned in their new jobs; change in salary was not a stable measurement for a number of those re-employed. For many it was not possible to estimate salary changes at all.

Although there is no consensus on how to define deskilling because there is no firm agreement on what constitutes skill (Steinberg, 1990), for the present study, deskilling is defined as moving from an occupation of a higher skill level, as specified by the National Occupational Classification (NOC)[1] (Employment and Immigration Canada, 1993c), to one of a lower skill.[2] As an example, if a person were employed as an office administrator (NOC 1221) and became re-employed as an administrative assistant (NOC 1411), deskilling would have taken place, because the person moved from an occupation classified as skill level B (Technical, paraprofessional, and skilled occupations) to one classified as skill level C (Intermediate occupations). Both skill level and type are further explained under coding of occupations.

Coding of Occupations

The occupations reported in the JFC participants' records are coded using the NOC. The NOC contains approximately 25,000 occupations found in the Canadian labour market, which are arranged systematically and hierarchically into 26 major, 139 minor and 522 unit groups. Skill level and skill type are the two major attributes used as criteria in classifying jobs in NOC. According to the NOC skill level is defined "as the amount and type of education and training required to enter and perform the duties of an occupation" (p. ii). There are four categories of skill level: skill level A (Professional occupations), skill level B (Technical, paraprofessional, and skilled occupations), skill level C

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[1] For a detailed description of how occupations are classified in the NOC, including research and development and methodology used in the formation of the coding, see the Introduction in the NOC's (1993) *Occupational descriptions*.

[2] There is a division among writers on deskilling with some authors conceptualizing it as a characteristic of a job rather than as something that happens to an individual worker, while others conceptualize it as the latter.

(Intermediate occupations), and skill level D (Labouring and elemental occupations). Every occupation, except management occupations, has a specified educational and training requirement for entry to the occupation and, therefore, would be classified under one of the four skill levels.

Skill type is defined as "the type of work performed" (Employment and Immigration Canada, 1993c, p. iii). Skill type is also reflective of such factors as similarity with respect to the required educational field of study and industry of employment, where experience within the industry is important to entry into the occupation. Within *NOC*, and based on skill type, there are ten broad occupational categories. These categories are: 1) business, finance and administration occupations; 2) natural and applied sciences and related occupations; 3) health occupations; 4) occupations in social science, education, government service and religion; 5) occupations in art, culture, recreation and sport; 6) sales and service occupations; 7) trades, transport and equipment operators and related occupations; 8) occupations unique to primary industry; and 9) occupations unique to processing, manufacturing and utilities.

Each occupation listed for the participants is classified into the appropriate unit group, that is the unique four-digit code, which identifies the title of occupation(s) classified in that group. An example of a unit group is **3114 Veterinarians**, representing the following occupational titles: small animal veterinary specialist, veterinarian, veterinary inspector, veterinary pathologist, veterinary physiologist, and zoo veterinarian (Employment and Immigration Canada, 1993c). The first two digits in the code help identify the skill type and skill level. The first digit, 3, identifies this as a health occupation and the second digit, 1, identifies it as skill level A (Professional occupations). The NOC system permits all the participants' occupations to be easily recoded into skill type and skill level and to be used for data analysis.

Setting: The Job Finding Club[3]

The Job Finding Club is "a group-support, group-job-hunting technique intended for job-ready clients" (Mills, 1987, p. 1). The program that the participants, i.e., the group of workers in the study, followed was developed by Arthur Mills, as is described in the *Counsellor's Manual for the Job Finding Club*. It is an intensive and structured strategy developed to assist older workers actively search for a job. The following is a brief overview of the program.

The JFC is a three week, full-time program which members attend until they find a job or if they are unsuccessful they rejoin and take part in a subsequent club. A new club is started monthly. The recommended number of participants is up to 15 members per program. It is run by two counsellors, who have been trained in how to teach specific job finding techniques, as prescribed by the manual. All potential club members attend a pre-session one week before the actual program begins. At this pre-session the counsellor presents the benefits of the program, forms a contract between the counsellors and future clients, collects background information on the participants, and makes any arrangements that will facilitate the members involvement. This pre-session permits an assessment of the clients and determines their suitability for the program. For example, if a potential participant is unable to commit full time to participation in the program, or adhere to how the program is set-up, she or he is excused. As well, if the prospective clients do not have realistic occupational goals , i.e., goals based on their education and/or past experience, they are not accepted into the JFC because the only purpose of the club is to assist job-ready clients to actively search for work. It is not intended for job counselling or any type of retraining. Persons who do not have a clear occupational goal are referred for job counselling.

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[3] The *Counsellor's Manual for the Job Finding Club: A Group Assisted Program for Obtaining Employment* (Mills, 1987) sets out in detail how the program works. Included in the manual are client handouts and recommended activities for each day. The reader is encouraged to consult this manual for how JFCs operate. The section contains a summary of the program to give the reader a sense of what occurs.

When members are officially accepted into the JFC they begin a three week program on the following Monday after their pre-session. Specific activities are set for each day. The first day they become acquainted with the program, with the other participants, and the counsellors. They are given a number of hand-outs to help them become familiar with different job seeking techniques and records of progress required by the club. They are also encouraged to choose a partner to work with in their searches. They observe a role-playing demonstration of a telephone call to a friend for a job lead performed by a counsellor and volunteer, so that members have a model to use.

Each day during the first two weeks, the participants in the club are introduced to different job searching techniques and encouraged to practice employing these techniques. Participants are taught such skills as resume writing, completing job applications, and interviewing for a job. The third week consists of reviewing and using the job searching techniques learned in the first two weeks. Since emphasis is placed on actively seeking work, a period of time is set aside each day for active job searches. In keeping with a behaviourial approach to searching for a job, a participant is expected to make 10 telephone calls a day, searching for or following up on job leads, or make cold calls to potential employers. Each day every participant logs all the job search techniques they used on their individual progress chart to give to their job counsellor. While counsellors encourage clients to perform the daily behaviours expected of them, they are also required to maintain a positive approach to the client, even if the client does not make the required number of contacts. No undue pressure is put on a client to perform a specific job-hunting technique. All JFC participants have access to photocopiers and computers for word processing to prepare resumes. Classroom and seminar rooms, together with lounge areas, are provided in a spacious and attractive environment. Job ads are also posted on a central bulletin board near the photocopier and JFC members are encouraged to share any job leads they get with each other.

Local Labour Market Conditions

Local labour market conditions are able to exert considerable effects on re-employment. Although some workers are willing to and do seek employment in other regions of a country from where they live, or indeed throughout the world, this is certainly not the case for many people looking for a job:

> Who in the United States, thinks on a national scale when they want to find a job, fill a vacancy . . .? The 'United States labour market' is a statistical fiction as far as most people are concerned. . . [a 'World labour market'] makes little sense to a redundant steelworker in Pittsburgh, South Wales or Lorraine? (Fevre, 1992, p. 15)

The same is true for many Canadians. One of the primary questions in labour market studies is as Fevre indicates, "Which labour market?" Workers have local, regional, or national preferences, and frequently, their search is based as much on that preference as it is on other factors. Geography is very important to labour market studies often in ways we do not always consider (Haughton, et al., 1993). Geography was certainly important for these subjects in this particular study as they were primarily searching for work in the local labour market where the JFC was located, therefore, while it is acknowledged that globalization is an important factor in employment this section is limited to a detailed description of those local labour market conditions where the members of the JFC are searching for work. Re-employment to a large extent is dependent on the macro-economic conditions at the time the workers are seeking employment (Picot & Wannell, 1987), but in examining specific groups of workers it makes more sense to carefully study *their* labour market (Fevre, 1992; Haughton, et al., 1993). This might be particularly true for older workers who are less likely to move to look for work (CLMPC, 1990).

Labour market indicators used to describe the local labour market conditions are at the level of aggregate data. The data used are as reported in the Edmonton Labour Market

Updates or Statistics Canada Publications[4]. Levels of employment and unemployment reported are seasonally adjusted data for quarterly periods. This data on labour force participation is based on interviews with a survey sample of some 115,000 respondents, rotating at six month intervals from across Canada excluding people living in the Yukon, Northwest Territories, on First Nation reserves, full-time in the Armed Forces, or living in institutions. It represents approximately 62,000 households in the country (Statistics Canada, 1992b). Changes in the local labour market over the four year study period, 1988 and 1993, were collected, summarized, and presented in tabular format.

The purpose of presenting the data in this section is to present more fully the local labour market conditions under which the mid-age and older workers in the study are seeking jobs, and later to see if these conditions offer any explanation as to why we see the re-employment patterns we do. The findings are divided into five parts: labour market indicators, industrial structure, occupational structure, UI claims by age and gender, help-wanted index, and changes in business activity by industry.

Labour Market Indicators

Common indicators of how well a labour market is functioning are usually based on the labour market activity of the population in the area. These indicators include the population, aged 15 years and over, who are potentially all able to compete in the labour market, participation rate, the number in the labour force, the number not in the labour force, the number employed both on a full- and part-time basis, the number unemployed, and the unemployment rate. Labour market indicators are sensitive to recessionary and expansionary periods.

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[4] The particular data source(s) will be identified for each labour market indicator that is used.

Population aged 15 and over. Table 3-1 shows the average annual labour market indicators as outlined above for the population as a whole over the study period. The data comes from that presented in the Monthly Labour Force publications for the Edmonton metropolitan area. The population 15 years and older, or the potential number of labour market participants, increased by 32,700 from 1988 at the beginning of the study period until the end of 1992/beginning of 1993 when the last follow-up on the JFC members took place.

During the same period there was a net increase of 33,900 in the actual labour force, for an 8.9% increase. In 1988 there were 163,000 people not in the labour force and this decreased to 161,700 by 1992. At the same time while overall employment increased from 346,000 to 369,900, what was telling was from 1989 to 1992 the net number of full time jobs decreased by 9,200 and part-time jobs increased by 6,800. This latter finding reflects one of the shifts prominent in the labour market and noted under the economic changes taking place. Unemployment went up over the study period. The number listed as unemployed increased by 10,900 and the unemployment rate by 1.7%. These reflect overall changes, however, there are definite fluctuations over the study period in the labour market indicators. There was a recession which began in March 1990 and ended mid-1992. The unemployment rate was highest in 1992 and lowest in 1990.

Older workers. In addition to looking at the labour market indicators for the population as a whole, the labour market indicators of the older workers are also carefully examined to see what was happening with the population of interest during the study period. Even though it is acknowledged that workers 45-54 years and those 55-64 years are different when it comes to labour market activity, a limitation of this data is that it is only possible to examine the labour market indicators by one older worker category, i.e., those 45 years and over, as this is how the data were grouped.

Table 3-1: Summary of Annual Average Labour Market Indicators for the Population 15+ for the Edmonton Census Metropolitan Area, 1988 to 1992

Indicator	1988*	1989	1990	1991	1992
Population 15+ (000)	545.0	549.7	557.8	568.0	577.7
Participation Rate (%)	70.1	72.9	71.4	72.0	74.5
Labour Force (000)	382.0	400.8	398.4	408.9	415.9
Not in Labour Force (000)	163.0	148.9	159.4	163.2	161.7
Employed (000)	346.0	367.7	366.8	370.0	369.9
Employed Full-time (000)	n.a.	315.9	311.0	314.0	306.7
Employed Part-time (000)	n.a.	56.4	55.8.	55.9	63.2
Unemployed (000)	35.0	33.1	31.6	38.9	45.9
Unemployment Rate (%)	9.3	8.3	7.9	9.5	11.0

Source: Labour Market Indicators for Edmonton Census Metropolitan Area, Statistics Canada Labour Force Survey.
Cited in: Edmonton Labour Market Updates.
*Part-time and full-time status not broken down for this year.

This does give some indication of what is happening with the older worker's labour market activity but does not differentiate between the mid-age and older workers. A strength of the information is that it is possible to examine the labour market participation by gender because statistics for both men and women are reported separately from 1989 to 1992. Table 3-2 shows a summary of annual average labour market indicators of men and women, 45 years and over, for the local labour market. The population of men and women in this age group increased over the study period; more so for men than women.

The unemployment rate increased for older men and at the same time it decreased for older women with variation noted for the different years. The 1990-1992 recession seemed to have the opposite effect on unemployment for older men and women. The unemployment rate was lowest for older men in 1989 and highest in 1992, while for older women it was lowest in 1991 and highest in 1989. Full-time employment increased for both older men and women between 1989 and 1992, as did part-time employment, however, part-time employment increased at a faster rate for older women. The number of older men not in the labour force has a net increase of 4,500 from 1989 to 1992 while for older women the number does not change appreciably. Part-time work as a work arrangement is increasing among older workers, in particular, the 55-64 year old group. Increases in part-time work among older workers has shown an increase in the rest of Canada (McDonald & Wanner, 1992), as well as, in a number of European countries (Taylor & Walker, 1993).

Unemployment Insurance Claims and Help-wanted Index

Two common measures of economic activity in a labour market are claims for Unemployment Insurance (UI claims) and the help-wanted index. UI claims may be used to monitor the economic activity in a labour market (The Labour Market Information Unit, 1992).

Table 3-2: Summary of Annual Average Labour Market Indicators for Older Men and Women 45+ for the Edmonton Census Metropolitan Area, 1989 to 1992

	1989		1990		1991		1992	
Indicator	**Men**	**Women**	**Men**	**Women**	**Men**	**Women**	**Men**	**Women**
Population 45+ (000)	80.5	91.7	85.1	92.4	86.0	95.6	92.7	101.0
Participation Rate (%)	64.2	42.9	60.6	42.0	62.2	40.9	64.1	47.6
Labour Force (000)	51.7	39.4	51.5	38.7	50.3	42.4	59.5	48.2
Not in Labour Force (000)	28.8	52.3	33.6	53.7	32.6	56.4	33.3	52.9
Employed (000)	48.9	36.1	48.5	36.2	49.2	36.9	53.8	45.1
Employed Full-time (000)	46.9	26.9	46.1	27.2	47.5	28.7	51.2	34.1
Employed Part-time (000)	*	9.2	2.5	9.1	2.3	8.3	2.8	11.0
Unemployed (000)	2.8	3.4	3.0	2.5	4.2	2.2	5.7	3.1
Unemployment Rate (%)	5.4	8.5	5.8	6.6	7.9	5.7	9.7	6.4

Source: Labour Market Indicators for Edmonton Census Metropolitan Area, Statistics Canada Labour Force Survey.
Cited in: Edmonton Labour Market Updates.
*number too small to report

A drop in the number of claims may indicate increased economic activity in an area as workers come off their claims and return to work, or a change in the number of long term unemployed who's claim has run out, while a rise generally indicates a slowing of the economy. A growing number of UI claimants is a feature of recessions when both temporary and permanent lay-offs may take place. Labour demand although difficult to quantify is another measure of economic activity. One measure which gives some indication of labour demand in a local area is the "help-wanted" index, in that, it is a rough proxy for the number of workers required. The help-wanted index is derived from, "a count of job advertisements published in the classified sections of 22 major metropolitan area newspapers" (Statistics Canada, 1994a, p. 23), most frequently on the Saturday coinciding with the reference week of the Labour Force Survey. It is a measure of changes in labour demand relative to a base year which for the data presented is 1991.

UI claims by age and gender. The Edmonton Labour Market Updates publishes data on the number of UI claims for each of the Edmonton Canada Employment Centres (CEC) offices. Table 3-3 shows a summary of UI claims exclusive of maternity and sick leave by age and gender for all workers and for older workers in Edmonton. The UI claims are further disaggregated by age and gender so it is possible to compare the different age and gender groups. Mid-age men had the highest number of unemployment claimants of any of the age and gender groups for all of the three month averages reported. Older men usually had the second highest level of UI claims with a seasonal variation evident. In the Fall three month average, mid-age women had the second highest average number of UI claims. Otherwise mid-age women had the third highest number. The lowest number of UI claims for any time period was always that of older women which perhaps is more indicative of their lower participation rate in the labour market, but may also signifies more continuous labour market activity among those older women.

Table 3-3: Three Month UI Claims for All Claimants by Gender and for Older Workers by Age and Gender for Edmonton CECs, September 30, 1989 to March 15, 1993

Time period	All men 15-55+	All women 15-55+	Mid-age men 45-54	Mid-age women 45-54	Older men 55+	Older women 55+
Sept 30, 1989	17133	12921	1890	1668	1491	1013
Jan 8, 1990	19068	11494	2268	1421	1723	942
Apr 5, 1990	22878	11808	2711	1450	1944	921
Jun 28, 1990	19121	12012	2429	1503	1727	953
Oct 4, 1990	17290	13310	2252	1742	1575	977
Jan 14, 1991	20966	12316	2788	1576	1912	933
Apr 13, 1991	27030	13687	3515	1810	2410	1051
Jun 28, 1991	26826	14252	3434	1927	2327	1113
Sept 26, 1991	22346	14517	2883	2116	1900	1201
Apr 2, 1992	32276	17759	4234	2148	2675	1193
Jun 9, 1992	29431	13900	3854	2064	2510	1118
Sept 8, 1992	24895	16390	3204	2669	2159	1299
Dec 9, 1992	25828	14419	3409	2362	2194	1113
Mar 15, 1993	32008	15910	4113	2253	2767	1190

Source: Employment and Immigration Canada, Operational data
Cited in: Edmonton Labour Market Updates, October, 1989 - April, 1993.

Help-wanted index. The help-wanted index is another good measure of what is happening in a local labour market since it measures seasonally adjusted changes specific to the region. Comparing specific counts with the base period, 1991=100 means that in the years 1988 through to the end of the second quarter of 1991 the help-wanted ads increased, while for the rest of the study period they decreased (Statistics Canada, 1994a)[5]. Table 3-4 shows the help-wanted index count for Edmonton by a twelve month average and for each month for the years 1988 to 1993. The highest demand was in 1989 and 1990 and the lowest demand was in 1992 and 1993. April 1990 when the index stood at 180 represented an increase of 80%, while for July and August 1992 and August 1993 when the index was 74 there was a 24% decrease.

Industrial Structure: Employment by Industry

The industrial structure is usually divided into three broad sectors: primary sector based on resource extraction industries; secondary sector based on production of goods; and the tertiary sector based on service provision (Krahn & Lowe, 1993). Each sector in turn is further subdivided according to the type of resources extracted, the kind of goods manufactured, or range of services provided. Labour force participation can then be described by the employment within the different sectors or industries. The Labour Market Information Unit (1989) reported on employment by eight industrial groups as follows: 1) manufacturing; 2) construction; 3) transportation, communication and other utilities; 4) trade; 5) finance, insurance, and real estate; 6) service; 7) public administration; and 8) other primary industries and agriculture. Employment is mainly in the tertiary sector which includes the service industries. Business, health and social, educational and tourism, including accommodation, food, and beverage, services are included in this category (The Labour Market Information Unit, 1993).

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[5] See Appendix 3 in Statistics Canada (1994) for how the index numbers are calculated.

Table 3-4: Help-wanted Index (1991=100) for Edmonton by Twelve Month Average and by Month for 1988 to 1993

Month	YEAR					
	1988	**1989**	**1990**	**1991**	**1992**	**1993**
Twelve month average	153	173	162	100	77	77
Jan	138	163	175	123	85	80
Feb	141	166	175	114	83	78
Mar	144	169	178	108	81	78
Apr	147	171	180	104	79	77
May	150	174	173	101	77	79
Jun	153	176	167	99	76	77
Jul	156	174	160	97	74	76
Aug	158	174	155	95	74	74
Sept	160	176	152	92	75	76
Oct	158	178	147	90	76	77
Nov	158	175	141	88	78	76
Dec	160	173	133	87	78	77

Source: Statistics Canada (1994) Help-wanted Index 1981-1993.

Primary industries make up the smallest part of the local labour market. Table 3-5 shows the annual average employment by industry for Edmonton during the study period. Since 1989 about 37.7% to 40.2% of Edmonton's employment has been in these service industries with some seasonal or quarterly fluctuations[6]. While overall the employment in these industries showed a gain there were a great deal of fluctuations in individual services, with the health sector having a major cut due to decreased government spending on these services.

Employment in industries classified under trade accounts for the second largest percentage of employment by industry. Retail trade accounts for most of this employment here. Over the period 1989 to 1993 there was an increases of 7,000 jobs within this industry. Within the public administration the provincial government is the largest employer in Edmonton followed by the municipal and the federal governments (The Labour Market Information Unit, 1991a). Public administration accounted for the third or fourth largest percentage of jobs depending on the year, it also shows the largest job loss of any of the categories. The latter no doubt reflects the large cuts in the public sector because of government restructuring and beginning privatization. Of the eight industries studied manufacturing consistently provided the third or fourth largest percentage of total employment depending on the year, however, it was always less than 10% of the total employment by industry. After a peak in manufacturing in July 1988 trends showed that employment in this industry decline somewhat and level off in 1993 at approximately 34,000 jobs. Employment in transportation, communication, and other utilities showed a steady decline from providing 9.1% of employment in 1989 to 7.9% in 1993 for a net loss of approximately 4,000 jobs.

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[6] The information on industry in Edmonton is taken from The *Edmonton Labour Market Update* which was published quarterly by the Labour Market Information Unit of the Edmonton Employment Centres until October 1993 and highlights pertinent information on the local labour market.

Table 3-5: Annual Average Employment by Industry for Edmonton 1989-1993 by Number (in thousands) and as a Percent of Total Employment

INDUSTRY	YEAR				
	1989 (000) %	1990 (000) %	1991 (000) %	1992 (000) %	1993 (000) %
Manufacturing	34	33	32	34	34
	9.3	9.0	8.6	9.2	9.3
Construction	23	26	28	26	23
	6.3	7.1	7.6	7.0	6.3
Transportation, communication and other utilities	33	31	31	31	29
	9.1	8.4	8.4	8.4	7.9
Trade	66	72	71	70	73
	18.0	19.6	19.2	18.9	19.9
Finance, insurance, and real estate	23	22	22	22	22
	6.2	6.0	5.9	5.9	6.0
Service	138	141	144	147	147
	37.7	38.4	38.9	39.7	40.2
Public Administration	40	33	34	32	29
	10.9	8.9	9.2	8.6	7.9
Other primary industries and agriculture	7	9	9	7	7
	2.6	2.5	2.4	1.9	1.9
Total Jobs	365	367	370	370	366

Source of data: Statistics Canada Labour Force Annual Averages 1989-1993
Note: Some percentages may be >100 due to rounding to nearest thousand

Some of the reasons for this decline in transportation, communication and other utilities identified were rising cost of fuel coupled with lower demand for travel (The Labour Market Information Unit, 1990a), losing non-stop airline service to Calgary (The Labour Market Information Unit, 1991b), and downsizing occurring in telecommunications and power companies (The Labour Market Information Unit, 1993).

The construction industry is one where fluctuations frequently occur and is dependent on residential and institutional construction activity. During the study period fluctuations were observed, with 1989 and 1993 being slower years accounting for 6.3% of the total employment by industry, and 1991 a peak year at 7.6%. The 1991 data may be accounted for by the fact that in that year there was a considerable increase in institutional building permits issued (The Labour Market Information Unit, 1991b) and this construction activity usually provides a greater number of jobs per project than residential permits.

The finance, insurance, and real estate industry accounted for the second lowest percentage of jobs in the local labour market at about 6%. After a loss of approximately 1000 jobs between 1989 and 1990 the number of jobs remained pretty well constant in this industry at around 22,000 jobs. Primary industries which include employment in agricultural, forestry, mining and oil and gas industries accounted for a relatively small percentage of the overall employment for the Edmonton area varying between 1.9% and 2.6%. While there was an increase of jobs in this sector in 1990, and they remained constant in 1991, the net number of jobs was the same at the end of the study period as it was at the beginning, at 7,000 jobs. The decline during this period was mainly attributed to a loss of jobs in the oil and gas industries as companies within the industry went through massive restructuring with resultant layoffs.

Occupational Structure: Employment By Occupation

Labour force participation can also be described according to the kind of work the participants do, or at least, how they are classified according to occupation. The nine classifications used are the breakdown of participation by occupation as reported in the *Labour Force Annual Averages* by Statistics Canada (1991b; 1992b; 1993a; 1994b): 1) managerial and other professional; 2) clerical; 3) sales; 4) service; 5) primary industry; 6) processing, machining, and fabricating; 7) construction and trades; 8) transportation and equipment operating; and, 9) material operating and other crafts. Similar data for the study are only available for 1990 to 1993, as prior to that a 20 category classification was used and, therefore, comparable categories could not be constructed for the study period. Table 3-6 shows the summary of annual average employment by occupation for Edmonton from 1990 to 1993.

Looking at labour market segmentation by occupation most people in the labour force in Edmonton were employed in jobs in managerial and other professional occupations. These are almost certainly jobs in the primary sector. Employment in these occupations accounted for between 34.1% and 35.8% of the total employment. Although the period between 1990 and 1993 had a net increase of 6,000 jobs it is marked by fluctuations. Jobs in clerical occupations provided the second largest percentage of employment. From 1990 to 1993 there was a net decrease of 3,000 jobs, but during the period jobs also fluctuated.

Service occupations accounted for the third largest single category of jobs at between 14.1% and 14.8%. There was an increase of 2,000 jobs in this category. Occupations in sales, like services, showed a net increase of 1,000 jobs from 1990 to 1993. As a percentage of overall employment it ranks fourth in importance accounting for 10.9% of employment in 1993.

Table 3-6: Annual Average Employment by Occupation for Edmonton 1990-1993 by Number (in thousands) and as a Percent of Total Employment

OCCUPATION	YEAR			
	1990 (000) %	1991 (000) %	1992 (000) %	1993 (000) %
Managerial and other professional	125 34.1	130 35.1	127 34.3	131 35.8
Clerical	63 17.2	62 16.8	66 17.8	60 16.4
Sales	39 10.6	37 10.0	40 10.8	40 10.9
Service	52 14.1	53 14.3	52 14.1	54 14.8
Primary industry	6 1.6	6 1.6	5 1.4	7 1.9
Processing, machining and fabricating	34 9.3	31 8.4	30 8.1	31 8.5
Construction and trades	23 6.3	26 7.0	23 6.2	18 4.9
Transportation and equipment operating	14 3.8	12 3.2	16 4.3	14 3.8
Material handling and other crafts	12 3.3	11 3.0	12 3.2	11 3.0
Total Jobs	367	370	370	366

Source of data: Statistics Canada Labour Force Annual Averages 1990-1992
Note: Some percentages may be >100 due to rounding to nearest thousand.

There was a decrease of 3,000 jobs in processing and fabrication occupations from 1990 to 1993, reflecting what was happening in the manufacturing industries in Edmonton. Just as in other areas of Canada restructuring of these industries took place with some of these industries either moving to another location, closing, or downsizing. More jobs were lost in construction and trades than in any other occupational classification. There was a net decrease of 5,000 jobs, however, the numbers fluctuate from year to year, with an increase in 1991, and a decrease in the other years. Jobs in construction and trades are dependent upon other types of economic expansion and as a result often fluctuate a great deal.

The number of jobs in transportation and equipment operation also fluctuates, with a decrease in 1991 and 1993, and an increase in 1992 resulting in no net increase or decrease of jobs between 1990 and 1993. Occupations in material handling and other crafts accounted for the second smallest single occupational category at around 3%. Between 1990 and 1993 there was a net loss of 1,000 jobs with some fluctuations from year to year. Primary industries had the smallest number and percentage of jobs by occupation of any of the nine categories accounting for less than 2% of jobs. There was an increase of approximately 1,000 jobs between 1990 and 1993.

Changes in Business Activity by Industry

In the *Edmonton Labour Market Updates* there is a summary of new, retired and current businesses by industry, permitting an examination of the business activity at the firm level and by year. The industries are divided into 17 categories: 1) agriculture; 2) mining/oilwell; 3) manufacturing; 4) construction; 5) transportation/ storage; 6) communication/utilities; 7) wholesale trade; 8) retail trade; 9) finance/insurance; 10) real estate/insurance agents; 11) business services; 12) educational services; 13) health/social services; 14) food/beverage/accommodation; 15) recreation/amusement; 16) personal/

household services; and, 17) other services. These are collapsed and reported by the same industries as reported in Table 3-5 above for comparative purposes.

Table 3-7 shows a summary of the number of current businesses by industry and year for Edmonton, 1989-1992 with the percentage annual change in number of businesses. Most of the businesses in Edmonton come under trade with retail trade being far more important than wholesale trade. Services are the second largest category with business services, food, beverage, and accommodation services, and health and social services comprising almost three-quarters of these businesses. Construction is the third largest category. Primary industries comprises the smallest number of businesses in the Edmonton area.

Using the number of current businesses, which factors in business openings and closures, from 1989 to 1992 there was a net loss of businesses in all industries except for services which had a very small net increase. Primary industries had the highest percentage of negative change while manufacturing, construction, and transportation and communication all had a small negative change. Services had a modest positive change but finances, insurance, and real estate have the greatest positive change. From 1990 to 1991 with the exception of services which stayed the same in total number of businesses, all industries experienced a negative change. From 1991 to 1992 all categories have a loss of businesses. Transportation and communication reported the highest percentage of negative change for that particular year. What these changes do not reflect, and is important to keep in mind, is that every year a number of businesses close putting people out of work, even though overall there may be no net loss of jobs in that business. New openings, while creating employment opportunities, does not necessarily re-employ any of the workers displaced from the closures.

Table 3-7: Number of Current Businesses by Industry and Year for Edmonton 1989-1992 and Percentage Annual Change

Industry	YEAR			
	1989 Number % change	1990 Number % change	1991 Number % change	1992 Number % change
Manufacturing	985 --	976 -1.1	954 -2.3	924 -3.1
Construction	1200 --	1194 -0.5	1142 -4.4	1121 -1.8
Transportation and Communication	516 --	521 -1.0	517 -0.8	477 -7.7
Trade	7499 --	7552 +0.7	7333 -2.9	7153 -2.5
Finances, Insurance, and Real Estate	730 --	748 +2.5	741 -0.9	708 -4.5
Services	6609 --	6709 +1.5	6709 0.0	6625 -1.3
Primary Industries	263 --	248 -5.7	237 -4.4	219 -7.6

Source: City of Edmonton Corporate Forecasting Section
Cited in: Edmonton Labour Market Updates

Participants

JFC participants. Data for the first part of the research on re-employment success comes from the summary records of the JFC participants who were aged 45-64 years and who attended the JFC between November 1988 and October 1992. There were 59 groups (mean number of participants per group = 12.15; S.D. = 1.9) accepted into the JFC for a total of 717 participants. Since the focus of the research is on mid-life and older workers, JFC members are excluded if they are younger than 45 years (n = 30) or 65 years and older (n = 2). A number of participants are excluded because they did not show up or they dropped out of the JFC (n = 42). A limited number (n = 7) are repeaters in the JFC as they did not obtain a job during their first participation, however, the information for these attendees at the JFC is combined.[7]

JFC drop-outs. During the four year period under study there were 678 mid-age and older men and women accepted into the JFC, however, 42 (6%) dropped out for a variety of reasons, with accidents or illness being the single most frequently cited reason for quitting. A few stated they felt that they could search just as well on their own, and some decided to take a retraining course prior to searching for a job. Looking at who are likely to drop out of the JFC, mid-age workers are more likely to drop-out than older workers, with not much difference noted by gender. Of the 42 drop-outs 33.3% are mid-age men, 31% mid-age women, 19% older men, and 16.7% older women. The remaining 636 men and women continued with the JFC and searching for work and they provide the subjects for the first part of the study.

Interview participants. In addition to the records of the 636 JFC members, 57 participants between the ages of 44-65 years, who either were attending or had recently attended the JFC, took part in detailed interview schedules. These participants are not a representative sample of individuals who attended the JFC over the four year period, but rather a convenience sample who agreed to be interviewed when contacted by one of the facilitators at the club. While they were not chosen as a random representative sample every effort was made to include men and women, mid-age and older workers, those employed and not yet employed and individuals from a variety of educational backgrounds and occupations. In many ways they are "like" individuals who are referred to the JFC.

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[7] Participants who do not find a job during their first attendance at a JFC are encouraged to remain and join the next available group, however, few in this particular study did so.

The intention in conducting these interviews is to explore more fully some of the work and social factors which might impinge on re-employment and are thought to affect older workers, including past employment patterns, changes in work, attitudes toward older workers, and searching for work.

Interviews. The interview schedules or questionnaires were developed in consultation with members of the Population Research Laboratory (PRL) at the Department of Sociology, University of Alberta[8]. Questions were included to elicit responses on a wide array of socio-demographic, occupational, and workplace characteristics as well as social issues relating to unemployment. The questions were in the form of fixed choice and open-ended responses. The questionnaires were pre-tested to ensure clarity and comprehension prior to conducting the research.

Interviews were arranged for those contacted and willing to take part in the study by one of the facilitators at the JFC who acted as an intermediary in approaching the JFC participants to take part in the study. The interview schedules were administered to the JFC participants by trained interviewers from PRL. Responses to the questions were recorded directly on the questionnaire, later coded, and entered into a data file. The setting for the interviews was the JFC. Interviews were conducted in private offices. Participants were given an explanation of the purpose of the research prior to agreeing to be interviewed. Length of interviews were between 35 and 135 minutes with a mean time of 65.35 minutes (SD 18.62) and conducted over a two week period in 1993.

Methods and Data Sources

There are two methods used in this research, therefore, two main sources of data. The first method is an analysis of the individual summary records of the members of the

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[8] The interview schedules were developed as part of a larger study on older workers which looked at employed workers in addition to the unemployed older workers in this study.

JFC and the second method is the use of structured interviews with selected individuals who attended the JFC.

JFC Summary Records

Most of the data on the older workers and their re-employment comes from the summary records kept on the individuals who attended one of the 59 JFCs between November 1988 and October 1992 (with the last follow-up in January 1993). The information collected on the records can be divided into baseline data and re-employment data. Below is a detailed description of the variables included under both of these divisions with how the variables are coded.

Baseline data

Initial information collected on participants in the JFC, which is mainly self-reported, form the baseline data for the study. This information is on participants' age, gender, education, last job and salary, length of time out of work, length of time seeking work, previous source of income, and occupational goal(s). Additional information is recorded on which group the person was in and the start date of the JFC. The variables and coding from this information are:

GROUP: recorded as which group the participant attended in the JFC. Values are 1 = group which attended from November 7- 27, 1988 and followed-up February 1989 to 59 = group which attended September 14, 1992 to October 2, 1992 and followed-up January 1993. Groups are accepted approximately every 4 weeks. This variable is recoded into a new variable YEAR with 1 = 1989[9], 2 = 1990, 3 = 1991, and 4 = 1992.

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[9] 1988 data was grouped with 1989 as it represented one group and numbers were too small for comparative purposes. A further rationale for inclusion was that labour market conditions had changed very little from the last quarter of 1988 to the first quarter of 1989.

AGE: recorded in years and the values coded in the same manner. This variable is recoded into a new variable AGE GROUPED with values 1 = < 45 years, 2 = 45 - 54 years, 3 = 55 - 64 years, and, 4 = 65 years and older.

GENDER: recorded as "M" for male and "F" for female and values coded as 0 = men and 1 = women.

MARITAL STATUS: recorded as "M" for married, "S" single or separated, "D" divorced, "W" widowed. Since no distinction is made by the participants between those never married and single, those separated and single, and those married and living common-law this variable is recoded as SPOUSE/PARTNER and values are 0 = no spouse/partner encompassing the single, separated and widowed and 1 = spouse/partner including married and common-law relationships.

NUMBER OF DEPENDENTS: recorded as actual number of dependents and values coded in the same manner. This variable is recoded into a new variable ANY DEPENDENTS and values are 0 = no dependents and 1 = dependents present. One of the limitations of this variable is that the participants did not record either the relationship of the dependent to themselves or the age(s) of the dependents, so it is not known if these dependents are children, parents, or some other relative or friend.

EDUCATION: recorded as the participant's educational attainment, however, there is some variation in how they recorded this information. Some participants report both number of years schooling (elementary or high school) and type and length of postsecondary education while some only record the latter where applicable. A number of variables are constructed from this information. The first is HIGHEST LEVEL OF EDUCATION and recoded as 1 = less than high school, 2 = completed high school, 3 = vocational/technical/college, and, 4 = university. The second is YEARS OF POSTSECONDARY [EDUCATION] with those having no postsecondary education given the value of 0 and others recorded in actual years which is also recoded into a new variable

ANY POSTSECONDARY EDUCATION with values of 0 = no and 1 = yes. The third is TYPE OF POSTSECONDARY EDUCATION and values are 0 = none, 1 = technical/vocational, 2 = college, 3 = university, 4 = university + other, and, 5 = technical/vocational + college.

LAST JOB: recorded as the last type of occupation the participants had before they entered the JFC. This is recoded into variable NOC1 which is the National Occupational Classification (NOC) 4-digit coding for the occupation. This variable is recoded into two new variables in keeping with the NOC classification. The first variable is SKILL LEVEL 1 with values 1 = management, 2 = level A, 3 = level B, 4 = level C, and 5 = level D. The second variable is SKILL TYPE 1 with value of 1 = business, finance, and administrative occupations, 2 = natural and applied sciences and related occupations, 3 = health occupations, 4 = occupations in social science, education, government service and religion, 5 = occupations in art, culture, recreation, and sport, 6 = sales and service occupations, 7 = trades, transport and equipment operators and related occupations, 8 = occupations unique to primary industry, and, 9 = occupations unique to processing, manufacturing and utilities.

LAST SALARY: recorded in a number of ways; the rate of pay the participant received per hour, day, month, year, or by commission. All reported salaries are converted into a common format as an annual or yearly salary. SALARY I contains this information and values are in dollars per year. UNIT 1 is how the salary is reported and values are 1 = per hour, 2 = per day/week, 3 = per month, 4 = per year, and 5 = per commission (including self-employment). Some caution [10] is necessary in the use of SALARY 1 as it does not account for inflation nor does the salary necessarily represent real or actual annual salary earned as some of the respondents may have been working part-time. Rather it is what they would be paid if they worked full-time and received the hourly salary reported.

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[10] Picot and Pyper (1993) discuss some of the difficulties in dealing with reported salaries for research as individuals use different ways of reporting their salary even though they may be paid on the same basis, i.e., an annual salary.

LENGTH OF TIME OUT OF WORK: recorded as length of time the participant is without a job. This variable is usually recorded in weeks, however, in a few instances months or years are recorded but these are converted to weeks and values are in number of weeks. This variable is recoded into a new variable WEEKS NOT WORKING GROUPED with 1 = < a month, 2 = 1 - 6 months, 3 = 7 - 12 months, and, 4 = > 1 year in order to look at differences between short time versus long time out of work.

LENGTH OF TIME SEEKING WORK: recorded as how long the participant is actually looking for a new job and is recorded and coded as described for the variable on LENGTH OF TIME OUT OF WORK. This variable is recoded into a new variable WEEKS SEEKING WORK GROUPED with 1 = < a month, 2 = 1 - 6 months, 3 = 7 - 12 months, and, 4 = > 1 year. It was further recoded into LONG TERM UNEMPLOYMENT with 0 = up to six months and 1 = > 6 months in order to look at differences between short term search versus long term search.

PREVIOUS SOURCE OF INCOME: recorded as source(s) of income participants are dependent on while out of work and/or looking for work. The actual source(s) are recorded and are coded into two variables. INCOME 1 lists the first source of income the participant reported and INCOME 2 lists the second source of income the participant reported. Values are 1 = unemployment insurance, 2 = social assistance, 3 = savings, 4 = spouse or family, 5 = part-time work, 6 = severance, and 7 = pension.

OCCUPATIONAL GOAL: recorded as type of occupation which the participant is seeking. As some people recorded two different occupations this is recoded into variable NOC 2a and 2b which is the National Occupational Classification (NOC) 4-digit coding for the occupation. This variable is recoded into two new (and where applicable four variables) in keeping with the NOC classification. SKILL LEVEL 2a (2b) AND SKILL TYPE 2a (2b) coded as described above under LAST JOB.

Re-employment Data

Information is recorded on job searching behaviour and individual progress is tracked to look at re-employment and when it occurs. The type of information recorded on the summary record are JFC data, e.g., how long the person attended the JFC, first job, and employment status at the three month follow-up. Additional comments are recorded, for example, if illness or retraining occurs. Sometimes job status, such as full-time, part-time, or contractual, is entered but since this information is not recorded systematically it cannot be used reliably. Every attempt was made to follow-up participants of the JFC three months after their attendance and to record information on their re-employment status.

JFC data and first job. During attendance at the JFC individuals keep daily records on their job searching techniques. Every day of attendance each participant records the number of phone calls, applications, contacts made, and any interviews obtained on a special form and this form is given to the facilitators. These job search methods are then summarized under the four categories and at the end of the JFC recorded on the final summary records. The summary records, therefore, contain the total number of each of the search methods used. Other information recorded is the total number of days the participant attended the club, and what their employment status is. This information provides the following variables for the study:

PHONE CALLS: recorded and values coded as the total number of phone contacts participants report made to potential employers during their participation in the JFC.

APPLICATIONS: recorded and values coded as the total number of job applications participants report made to potential employers during their participation in the JFC.

INTERVIEWS: recorded and values coded as the total number of interviews participants report actually obtained from potential employers during their participation in the JFC.

PERSONAL CONTACTS: recorded and values coded as the total number of personal contacts with family, friends and acquaintances the participants report they made in looking for employment during their participation in the JFC.

TYPE OF JOB: recorded as the type of occupation the participants obtained if they are able to find work during or at the end of the JFC. This is recoded into variable NOC3 which is the National Occupational Classification (NOC) 4-digit coding for the occupation. This variable is recoded into two new variables in keeping with the NOC classification SKILL LEVEL 3 and SKILL TYPE 3 and coded as described above under LAST JOB. A third variable, END JFC, which is the re-employment status at the end of the job find club, is constructed from this information and coded as 1 = not working, 2 = working, 3 = retraining, 4 = dropped out, and 5 = repeating the JFC.

NUMBER OF DAYS ATTENDED: recorded and values coded as the number of days the participant spend at the JFC.

WAGE OBTAINED: recorded as the actual salary the participants report they obtain and coded as per SALARY 1. It forms two new variables SALARY 2 and UNIT 2, coding of which is described under LAST SALARY with the same cautions applying.

SOURCE OF JOB LEAD: recorded as the method that helps the participants find their job after the JFC. It is coded as METHOD 1 with values 1= newspaper, 2 = personal contacts, 3 = cold call, 4 = UI/CEIC office, and 5 = other (church bulletin, private agency, etc.).

Three month follow-up. The members of the club are followed up by telephone three months after they finish the JFC by a staff member. Information on their employment status at that time is entered on their summary records and includes the following variables:

TYPE OF JOB: recorded as the type of occupation the participants are in at the three month follow-up. This is recoded into variable NOC 4 which is the National Occupational Classification (NOC) 4-digit coding for the occupation. This variable is recoded into two new variables in keeping with NOC classification SKILL LEVEL 4 and SKILL TYPE 4 and coded as described above under LAST JOB. If the subjects are still working in the job that they had at the end of the JFC "still working" is recorded and if the participant lost a job or enter a retraining program that is noted. If the staff are unable to contact a participant at this point that information is also recorded. From information obtained at this time a new variable END 3 is constructed with 1 = not working,
2 = working - same job, 3 = working - new job, 4 = dropped out, 5 = repeater,
6 = retraining, and, 7 = lost to follow-up.

WAGE OBTAINED: recorded and coded the same as per SALARY 2 at the end of the JFC and recoded into SALARY 3 and UNIT 3.

SOURCE OF JOB LEAD: recorded as the lead or method that helps the participant find her/his job by the three month follow-up. It is coded as METHOD 2 with values 1= newspaper, 2 = personal contacts, 3 = cold call, 4 = UI/CEIC office, and 5 = other (church bulletin, private agency etc.).

Constructed variables. The above variables and coding permit the construction of a number of variables as follows:

WORKERS GROUPED: constructed from the variables GENDER and AGE and have the values 1 = mid-age male, 2 = mid-age female, 3 = older male, and, 4 = older female.

DESIRED CHANGE IN SKILL LEVEL 1: NOC 1 and NOC 2a (2b) are used to construct this variable and measure whether or not there is a difference between the subject's skill level of their previous job and the skill level of their occupational goal. The values are 1 = no, 2 = yes (higher), and, 3 = yes (lower).

DESIRED CHANGE IN SKILL TYPE 1: constructed using NOC 1 and NOC 2A (2B) and measures a difference between the skill type of the previous job and the skill type of their occupational goal. The values are 1 = no and 2 = yes.

CHANGE IN SKILL LEVEL 2: constructed using NOC1 and NOC 3 and measures whether or not there is a change in the subject's skill level of their previous job and the skill level of their first job at the end of the JFC. The values are 1 = no, 2 = yes (higher), and, 3 = yes (lower). DESKILLING 1: constructed from the change between SKILL LEVEL 1 and SKILL LEVEL 3 and coded as 0 = higher or no change in skill level, and 1 = lower skill level.

CHANGE IN SKILL TYPE 2: constructed using NOC 1 and NOC 3 and measures whether or not there is a change in the subject's skill type of their previous job and the skill type of their first job at the end of the JFC. The values are 1 = no and 2 = yes.

CHANGE IN SKILL LEVEL 3: constructed using NOC 1 and NOC 4 and measures whether or not there is a change in the subject's skill level of their previous job and the skill level of their job at the three month follow-up. The values are 1 = no, 2 = yes (higher), and, 3 = yes (lower).

DESKILLING 2: constructed from the change between SKILL LEVEL 1 and SKILL LEVEL 4 and coded as 0 = higher or no change in skill level, and 1 = lower skill level.

CHANGE IN SKILL TYPE 2: constructed using NOC 1 and NOC 4 and measures whether or not there is a change in the subject's skill type of their previous job and the skill type of their job at the three month follow-up. The values are 1 = no and 2 = yes.

Missing values for all variables (where applicable) are coded as either "9", "99", Or "9999" and non-applicable variables as"8", "88" or "8888". For the analysis all data on the summary records are coded as above, entered into a file, and used for analysis in the computer program, Statistical Package for the Social Science (SPSS).

Structured Interviews

A second source of data is from the structured interviews conducted with 57 members of the JFC who are between the ages of 44-65 years. During these interviews the informants were asked questions about their previous employment as well as their current job if they were re-employed. Topics such as searching for employment, difficulties they encountered while unemployed, changes to retirement planning, and political responses to the situation were explored as well. Finally the respondents were asked about how older workers were defined and about older workers and retraining. Data to fixed choice questions were coded by response category on the questionnaire. Responses to open-ended questions were grouped in themes or categories and coded.

Data Analysis

JFC Records: Re-employment Data

Data coded into variables from the JFC records, and as described above, are analyzed using descriptive indices such as frequencies and crosstabulations to describe the subjects and their re-employment patterns. Frequencies are used to examine the characteristics associated with age and gender and re-employment by selected characteristics and cross-tabulations are used to look for differences among mid-age and older men and women in re-employment success. Since the total population of older workers who attended the JFC over a four year period is studied the parameters of the group could be used to describe these workers.

Logistic regression. In order to explore which factors were important to finding a job, both at the end of the JFC and at the three month follow-up, as well as what factors contributed to deskilling among the participants attending the JFCs, models were constructed and tested using logistic regression. Logistic regression was selected because in both instances the dependent variables were binary. In the first model the subjects had a new job or they did not. In the second model the job at the end of three months resulted in deskilling or it did not, i.e., the new job was or was not in an occupation with a resulting decrease in skill level as compared with their previous job. Explanatory variables for both models were chosen based on the literature, which suggested factors thought to be important to older workers finding a job and having a change in skill level upon re-employment, and according to the rules for constructing a logistic regression model as specified by Hosmer and Lemeshow (1989, pp. 82-134). The purpose of building such models are to "find the best fitting and most parsimonious, yet reasonable model to describe the relationship between an outcome (dependent or response variable) and a set of independent (predictor or explanatory) variables" (Hosmer & Lemeshow, 1989, p. 1).

For each model an array of theoretically important personal and occupational characteristics were assessed through a bivariate analysis of each variable to test their importance to the dependent variable in question. This analysis served to identify potentially important variables for the model. However, if the literature consistently suggested that a variable was important, e.g., level of education, then that variable was also included in the model. The model used to predict having a job at the end of the JFC and at the three month follow-up consisted of six independent variables, three dichotomous, long term unemployment, previous job of a secondary or primary nature, and willing to change skill level and three categorical, age and gender, education, and year looking for work. The model for predicting the risk of deskilling has six independent variables, three dichotomous, willing to change skill level, long term unemployment, and whether or not the person found employment quickly, ie., at the end of the JFC as compared with later, and three categorical variables, age and gender, educational level, and year searching for work.

Following the identification of the independent variables a check was done to insure that collinearity and interaction were not problems within the models. None of the independent variables were strongly correlated nor were there significant interactions identified. Since cases with unusual high or low values for an independent variable or an atypical combination of values on any of the variables may have disproportionate effects on the results, Studentized residuals and dbetas were used as diagnostic methods to check for unusual cases or miscoded variables in the three models. There were no instances of cases with Studentized residuals less than -3 or greater than +3 nor dbeta values of covariates greater than 1; both of which would indicate potential problems with the data (Menard, 1995; Norusis, 1993).

Logistic regression is different from linear regression in that the dependent variable is binary or dichotomous. Nevertheless the analysis and interpretation of the two methods are quite similar (Cox, 1970; Menard, 1995). The advantage of logistic regression in this situation is that you are able to directly estimate the ratio of the occurrence of the event versus its nonoccurrence (finding a job or deskilling) by examining the odds ratio or ExpB of the predictor variables (Norusis, 1993). The unstandardized coefficient, probability, and odds ratio or ExpB for each independent variable are presented in the findings.

Interviews with Selected JFC Participants

The interviews mainly produced pre-coded data of a nominal nature with some open-ended data that were categorized and coded and which permitted a closer examination of some of the social factors associated with re-employment of older workers. However, some categorical variables were measured as well. Because of the nature of the sampling (non-random) and the level of data (mainly nominal but some ordinal) collected for the categorical variables during the interviews with selected participants at the JFC, descriptive statistics are used to examine the participants by age and gender on a variety of characteristics relating to older workers and their employment and re-employment experiences. Some crosstabulations are used to look for differences between mid-age and older men and women on the various dimensions studied.

To examine the degree of confidence in social institutions the respondents' responses were summed on six items to get a total score. The items were degree of confidence in government (in general), banks and financial institutions, media (electronic, print), educational institutions (schools, colleges and universities), big business and unions. Responses were on a 7 point Likert scale with 1= "Strongly disagree" and 7 = "Strongly agree". The Total score had a range of 6 to 42.

Similarly, the degree of satisfaction with life was examined by summing the respondents' ratings on nine items: health, family life, education, life in general, relations with family and friends, self, marital status, finances, and the way time spent. Responses to this item were on a 7-point Likert scale with 1 = "very dissatisfied" and 7 = "very satisfied". The total score was from a range of 9 to 63.

Ethical Considerations

The data for this study were collected as part of a larger research project on the older worker funded by the Social Sciences and Humanities Research Council of Canada (SSHRC) under a strategic grant. Ethical approval to conduct the research was received from the Ethics Committee, Department of Sociology, University of Alberta. A copy of the research proposal and interview schedule for the 57 participants was submitted to the ethical review committee. For the data on the summary records of the individuals attending the JFC all information linking individuals to the data, e.g., name and social insurance numbers, were removed from the records so that anonymity of information is assured.

CHAPTER 4

FINDINGS: RE-EMPLOYMENT BY AGE AND GENDER

> *Various age groups are essentially different resource inputs, each with its own productivity characteristics-in turn leading to a distribution of income and employment by age that is creating demonstrable social problems.*
>
> Brennan, Taft & Schupak,
> (1967, p. 9)
> *The Economics of Age*

The purpose in this chapter is to present the findings of the re-employment patterns of the 636 participants who attended the Job Finding Club (JFC) over the four year study period and to examine any differences in these patterns by age and gender groups. Participants are divided into four separate age and gender groups; men 45-54 years old defined as mid-age men, women 45-54 years old defined as mid-age women, men 55-64 years old defined as older men, and women 55-64 years old defined as older women. Specifically, these four group's job finding success and factors associated with this success are compared and contrasted. The chapter is divided into five sections. The first section describes background characteristics, such as, socio-demographic and occupational characteristics of the JFC members. The second section describes their re-employment success at the end of the JFC and again at a three month follow-up. Included in this section are factors predictive of having a job at both of these time periods. The third section examines occupational changes that occurred with re-employment; changes in skill type, skill level and salary. This section examines the extent of deskilling with re-employment and factors predictive of deskilling taking place at the three month follow-up. The fourth section is a detailed examination of the job search behaviour among the four groups of participants and how successful the various strategies they used are. The fifth is an examination of the importance of the local labour market conditions to re-employment for the different age and gender groups.

Characteristics of JFC Members

The participants in the research, 636 individuals, i.e., men and women, are between 45 and 64 years with a mean age of 51.6 years (SD 4.94) attending a JFC in a city in western Canada. More men (*n* = 362) than women (*n* = 274), and more mid-age workers, 45-54 years old (*n* = 446), than older workers, 55-64 years old (*n* = 190) participated in the JFC. Mid-age workers are more likely to be active participants in the labour market, because early retirement affects more in the 55-64 age group than those 45-54 years old, so this younger age group would be expected to form the bulk of the participants. Similarly, more men would be expected to be in the labour force than women for this cohort, although the number of women in this group in the labour market has been increasing. The percentages and numbers in the four age and gender groups are divided as follows: 38.7% (*n* = 246) mid-age men, 31.5% (*n* = 200) mid-age women, 18.2% (*n* = 116) older men, and 11.6% (*n* = 74) older women.

Table 4-1 shows the differences among the four age and gender groups along a number of socio-demographic characteristics. The main differences in selected characteristics of the JFC participants are presence of a spouse/partner, number of dependents, and educational level. Both mid-age and older men are more likely to have a spouse/partner present than are any of the women. Older women more so than of any of the four groups are on their own, i.e., do not have a spouse or partner, and were much less likely of any of the groups to have dependents. The participants in the 45-54 year old groups, regardless of gender, were more likely to have dependents than the older participants. Mid-age women, in contrast with mid-age men, are much less likely to have a spouse, but only slightly less likely to have dependents at home, suggesting there could be a number of single parent families among this group. The mid-age woman group contains the highest percentage of single individuals with dependants at 15.5%.

Table 4-1: Characteristics of JFC Members by Age and Gender

Characteristic	Mid-age men 45-54 (*n* = 246) %	Mid-age women 45-54 (*n* = 200) %	Older men 55-64 (*n* = 116) %	Older women 55-64 (*n* = 74) %
Spouse/Partner				
No	25.4[a]	52.3[b]	28.0[c]	61.4[d]
Yes	74.6	47.7	72.0	38.6
Dependents present				
No	62.2	68.5	80.2	93.2
Yes	37.8	31.5	19.8	6.8
Education				
Less than high school	5.7[e]	5.6[f]	3.5[e]	23.6[f]
Completed high school	23.3	36.4	27.0	23.6
Vocational/technical/ college	30.2	32.8	28.7	36.1
University	40.8	25.2	40.8	16.7
Source of income while unemployed[g]				
Unemployment insurance	58.5	54.0	57.8	62.2
Social assistance	13.0	15.0	7.8	9.5
Savings	10.8	11.5	18.1	9.5
Spouse	10.2	17.5	5.2	16.2
Part-time work	5.7	5.0	2.6	2.7
Severance	5.3	3.5	2.6	4.1
Pension	2.4	2.5	10.3	8.1

[a] 6 responses missing
[b] 5 responses missing
[c] 9 responses missing
[d] 4 responses missing
[e] 1 response missing
[f] 2 responses missing
[g] The percentage is more than 100 because 20 men and 23 women reported more than one source of income while unemployed

The finding that mid-age workers have more dependents is consistent with Schellenberg (1994) who found that among the older workers those between 45 to 54 years had a higher percentage of dependent children in their households.

Since JFCs are generally for the hard-to-employ, and that group usually contains a number of individuals with lower educational qualifications, we would expect to find educational levels low among the JFC participants. This was not necessarily the case as amount and kind of postsecondary education among the individuals in the study vary widely. Participants had completed anywhere from none to 18 years of postsecondary education, with a mean of 2.11 years (SD 2.42) education beyond high school. Women were more likely to have no postsecondary education, while men were more likely to have a university education. This high percentage of more educated men reflects the type of unemployed mid-age and older man in the new economy, i.e., those with higher qualifications being displaced from good jobs. The group "hard-to-employ" is becoming redefined by the this type of unemployed person. Older women were quite different from the other age and gender groups showing the most variation in educational qualifications. Even though they have the highest percentage of the four groups with less than high school, they also have the highest percentage who have completed some vocational, technical, or college education. Almost a quarter of older women had not completed high school.

The participants depended upon a variety of sources of income while searching for work. The single most frequently reported source of income is unemployment insurance mentioned by 57.4% of the JFC members. Since the main source of referral to the JFC is Canada Employment Centres a number would be expected to be on unemployment assistance. Almost 12% are receiving social assistance with mid-age women leading in this respect. JFCs were designed in the U.S. and used mainly as a means of helping women on social assistance get into the workforce and be less dependent upon social assistance

(Gueron, 1989), so the participation of this hard-to-employ group is expected. JFCs were first introduced in Canada for hard-to-employ individuals who had a number of labour market risks (Mills, 1987), such as being on social assistance. Older men and older women more frequently reported the receipt of a pension and a number of these identified the source of their pension as coming from their previous job suggesting that some of these individuals either opted for or were forced into early retirement but clearly wished to remain in the workforce. A few of the participants were in part-time jobs but they wished to find full-time employment. Socio-demographic characteristics of the participants did vary quite widely.

Employment Characteristics

When the participants enter the JFC they are asked about their previous job, i.e., the last job that they lost or quit, and the salary they received in this job. This information and how it is coded is described in detail in the previous chapter. The data collected thus permits a good comparison of the participants along such dimensions as previous salary, skill level, and skill type of their last occupation. Knowing the immediate employment history helps to examine the changes that take place upon re-employment and to see whether or not the JFC helped these workers to improve their situation or not.

Previous salary. Table 4-2 shows the participant's salary and method of reported payment in their previous job before attending the JFC. Almost one half of all respondents report a salary of between $20,000-$39,000[1]. Men in general came from better paying jobs than did the women as the women were concentrated in jobs that paid less than $20,000. per year. Over half of the women in both age groups report earnings of less than $20,000 annually in their previous jobs.

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[1] No adjustments were made for inflation even though some participant's jobs had been a couple of years ago. Since salary was used to look at individual changes this appeared reasonable.

Table 4-2: Salary and Method of Payment of Previous Salary by Age and Gender

Characteristic	Mid-age men 45-54 (*n*= 246)[a] %	Mid-age women 45-54 (*n*= 200)[b] %	Older men 55-64 (*n*= 116)[c] %	Older women 55-64 (*n*= 74)[d] %
Salary				
<$20,000	19.5	55.8	24.8	51.5
$20,000-39,999	55.1	39.8	48.5	45.6
$40,000-59,999	20.8	3.9	22.8	2.9
$60,000. and over	4.7	0.6	4.0	-.-
Wages/salary				
Commission	1.7	0.5	1.9	1.4
Hourly	8.7	12.1	7.8	11.6
Daily/weekly	0.4	0.5	-.-	1.4
Monthly	6.2	6.6	3.9	11.6
Annually	83.0	80.2	86.4	73.9

[a] 10 responses missing [b] 19 responses missing [c] 15 responses missing
[d] 6 responses missing

The mean salary in previous job for men was $30,810 (SD $13,287), while for women it was $20,791 (SD $9,134). Mean salary from a previous job was highest for mid-age men $31,066 (SD $13,026) and lowest for mid-age women $20,728 (SD $9,493). JFC members also reported how they were paid, i.e., hourly rate, weekly, monthly, or annually, in their previous job. Most JFC members reported receiving an annual salary although a higher percentage of both older men and women reported an hourly wage. While it is difficult to attach a specific meaning to the information of how salary is reported, it might suggest that a higher proportion of the older age groups were in a previous job of a less permanent nature as hourly wages tend to characterize these types of jobs. In the new jobs they obtain after attending the JFC individual members did report a difference in how they were paid, indicating that they did make a distinction between an annual salary and an hourly wage, therefore, suggesting changes in payment method rather than just the way of reporting the method accounts for the difference that is observed in the data.

Skill level and type. The participant's occupation for their last job was coded using the National Occupational Classification (NOC). They were then recoded into skill level and skill type as defined by NOC. Breakdown according to skill of previous jobs could then be made along these two dimensions for the four age and gender groups to further describe the occupational characteristics of the JFC members. Table 4-3 shows the skill level and skill type of the participant's previous job. More of the men attending the JFC tended to come from higher skilled jobs in keeping with their higher levels of education and previous salaries, and also in keeping with how men and women are segregated into different types of jobs and occupations (Armstrong & Armstrong, 1986; Kumar, et al., 1991).

The highest percentage of men in both age groups came from skill level B (Technical, paraprofessional, and skilled occupations) followed by skill level C (Intermediate occupations). There was also a higher percentage of all men than women coming from management positions and occupations in skill level A (Professional occupations). The time period in the study was marked by restructuring and downsizing both in the private and public sectors so it is not surprising that a number of men would have come from these higher skill levels.

The highest percentage of women in both age groups came from skill level C (Intermediate occupations) and this is in keeping with women's jobs generally in the Canadian labour market (Phillips & Phillips, 1993). Clerical occupations are at this level as well as many service occupations where a number of the women were previously employed. A higher percentage of men than women came from skill level D (Labouring and elemental occupations). More men than women are employed as labourers in construction and primary industries, all of which are at skill level D.

Table 4-3: Skill Level and Skill Type of Previous Job by Age and Gender

Characteristic	Mid-age men 45-54 (*n* = 246)[a] %	Mid-age women 45-54 (*n* = 200)[b] %	Older men 55-64 (*n* = 116)[c] %	Older women 55-64 (*n* = 74)[c] %
Skill level of job				
Management	12.3	3.6	13.0	4.1
Skill level A	17.3	8.1	13.0	12.3
Skill level B	40.3	28.4	40.9	34.2
Skill level C	21.0	54.8	25.2	46.6
Skill level D	9.1	5.1	7.8	2.7
Skill type of job				
Business, finance & administrative occupations	33.1	62.1	23.5	58.9
Natural & applied sciences	14.0	0.5	16.5	2.7
Health occupations	0.4	3.5	1.7	5.5
Social science, education, government service & religion	5.8	7.1	4.3	8.2
Art, culture, recreation & sport	2.1	1.5	6.1	2.7
Sales & service	20.2	22.2	22.6	20.5
Trades, transportation & equipment operators	20.2	1.0	20.9	--
Primary Industry	1.2	--	--	1.4
Processing, manufacturing, & utilities	2.9	2.0	4.3	--

[a] 3 responses missing [b] 2 responses missing [c] 1 response missing

The findings of occupational distribution also reflect the allocation of men and women to different kinds of jobs in Canadian society. A higher percentage of men are found in management and professional occupations which tend to be in the primary sector, and women more frequently are found in secondary sector jobs.

Age and gender differences are also evident in skill type of the last job. Forty-four percent of all JFC members were employed in business, finance and administrative occupations and a greater percentage of women in both age groups came from these occupations than did men. Again the latter finding is reflective of the large number of women in the study who were employed in clerical occupations. A higher percentage of men came from occupations in the natural and applied sciences than women. Most of these men's jobs in the natural and applied sciences were in professional or technical engineering. There were a high number of U.I. claimants in these occupations in the local labour market during the study time suggesting a number of these workers had been displaced. More men than women were from jobs in trades and transport occupations and these many of these jobs were in construction. Around 20% of men and women came from sales and service jobs; jobs which traditionally experience a great deal of fluctuation in employment. Very few of the JFC members were employed in occupations unique to primary industry, however, as illustrated in the description of the local labour market conditions there are not many jobs of that nature in the labour market of the local area.

Length of Time Unemployed

JFC members were asked to report both how long they had been out of work and how long they were searching for work, the latter being nearer the official definition of unemployment. Some of the JFC participants had been out of work for a long time, others for a short period, and for some no time at all. Those in the latter category were trying to improve their chances of moving from part-time to full-time employment. Table 4-4 shows a comparison of the mean number of weeks the JFC members were not working and were looking for work. There are differences among the four age and gender groups along both these parameters. The mean number of weeks for the total group seeking work is 28.66 (SD 51.26). In comparison the mean length of time participants reported not working is higher at 53.15 weeks (SD 119.30) suggesting a number of the JFC members are either re-entrants to the labour market or became discouraged and dropped out of active search for awhile, although there is no way from the data of easily distinguishing between the two.

Table 4-4: Comparison of Mean Weeks Not Working and Weeks Looking for Work for All JFC Participants and by Age and Gender Group

	MEAN	SD	*N*
Weeks Not Working			
All JFC participants	53.15	119.30	635.[a]
Mid-age men	34.68	42.46	246
Mid-age women	83.57	188.20	199.[a]
Older men	41.85	82.35	116
Older women	50.42	83.21	74
Weeks Looking for Work			
All JFC participants	28.64	51.26	635.[a]
Mid-age men	26.77	36.49	246
Mid-age women	32.35	73.21	199.[a]
Older men	28.72	43.41	116
Older women	24.94	28.01	74

[a] 1 response missing

Mid-age women had the greatest mean number of weeks not working as well as looking for work. Some of the mid-age women's not working/unemployment patterns suggests there are a number of displaced homemakers or other re-entrants to the labour market among this group in the JFC. Displaced homemakers are generally mid-life and older women who have been out of the labour force for awhile and have lost their primary source of income through losing a partner or loss of long-term income assistance (Miller, 1989; Shaw, 1988).

Mid-age men had the lowest mean number of weeks not working, while older women had the lowest mean number of weeks spent looking for work. Some of the older men, with longer periods not working and shorter periods looking for work, had reported the receipt of a pension from work or severance pay strongly suggesting that they had either taken early retirement, or were displaced, and after a period of being out of the labour market, they wished to become re-employed.

Long-term unemployment. One of the parameters of unemployment that has been increasing for older workers is length of unemployment resulting in more of this group falling in the category of long term unemployment. Long term unemployment in Canada is defined as continuous unemployment of longer than six months (Rahman & Gera, 1990). For this particular group of mid-age and older workers 33.2% (*n* = 211) could be described as long-term unemployed. There are not a great deal of differences among the four age and gender groups in terms of long-term unemployment. The mid-age women were only slightly more prone to long term unemployment (35.2%) than older men (33.6%), older women (32.4%), or mid-age men (31.7%).

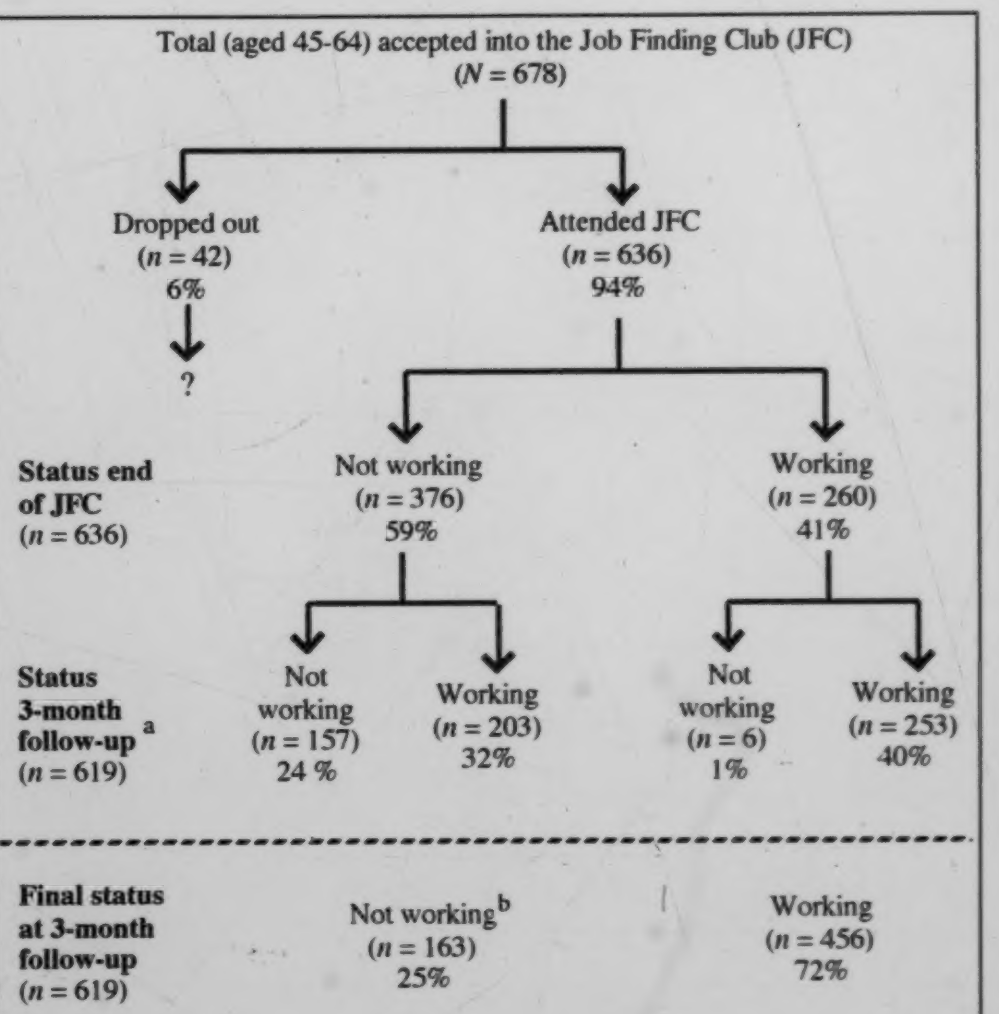
Job Finding Success

The main objective of the JFC is to help people attending the club find a job as quickly as possible, so part of the follow-up is to see which attendees are able to get a job and when. Job finding success, therefore, is one of the main outcome measures in the study although the type of job is more important in assessing whether or not labour market segmentation is increasing among older workers. Job finding success refers to whether or not the participants in the JFC obtain a job either at the end of the JFC or at the three month follow-up. For each time period participants were asked if they had obtained a job, what kind of occupation they were in, and what salary they were receiving. Other information was noted, such as if the individuals were still searching for a job or if they were retraining. For some of the participants there was a note as to the nature of the job, i.e., full-time or part-time and permanent or temporary, but since this was not recorded for all participants comparisons cannot be made along these characteristics. JFC members spent between one and 30 days at the JFC or an average of 11.47 (SD = 4.34) days. Although encouraged to do so only a small number returned for a second JFC program if they did not find a job during their attendance in the first program.

Figure 4-1 shows a detailed picture of the flow of all the JFC members through the job finding process indicating the employment status of the participants at the end of the JFC and at the three month follow-up. By the end of the JFC, 41% (*n* = 260) of the participants found a job, while the remaining 59% (*n* = 376) were still unemployed. A number of these individuals found a job within their first week in attendance at the JFC. Some of these were rehired by a previous employer. At a three month follow-up 72% (*n* = 456) were working and 25% (*n* = 163) were not working. Of the 163 workers not employed at the three month follow-up, 34 (5%) were enrolled in a retraining program. The most frequently reported retraining program was one that involves learning some type of computer skills. Other retraining recorded is job specific, e.g., real estate sales training. There was a very high follow-up rate as only 3% (*n* = 17) of the total group were unable to be tracked at three months. Most of the workers whether employed or unemployed stayed in the local area and had the same contact address so it was possible to have a high response rate.

Re-employment Success by Age and Gender Groups

One of the objectives of the research study was to see if re-employment success of older workers attending a JFC, who had lost/quit jobs or who were re-entering the labour market after an absence of paid work, differed by age and gender, as these attributes are considered labour market risks among workers. In order to determine if there are any differences among the age and gender groups, re-employment success was, first of all, measured by whether or not the men and women obtained employment, and second, by how the job compared with previous employment. Table 4- 5 reveals the re-employment success of the JFC members at the end of the JFC and at a three month follow-up. Age and gender differences were evident and these varied by time period. In the short term, at the end of JFC, mid-age men had the lowest percentage of re-employment of any of the four groups and mid-age women had the highest percentage.



a *n* = 17 (3%) were lost to follow-up at three months
b *n* = 34 (5%) in retraining programs

Figure 4-1: Status of Members at End of JFC and at Three Month Follow-up.

Table 4-5: Re-employment Success by Age and Gender Group at the End of the JFC and at Three Month Follow-up

	Mid-age men 45-54 (*n* = 246) %	**Mid-age women 45-54** (*n* = 200) %	**Older men 55-64** (*n* = 116) %	**Older women 55-64** (*n* = 74) %
End of JFC				
Working	34.1	49.5	35.3	48.6
Not Working	65.9	50.5	64.7	51.4
Three month Follow-up				
Working	72.0	76.5	63.8	70.3
Not Working	22.4	14.0	27.6	18.9
Not working - Retraining	4.1	7.0	5.2	5.4
Lost to Follow-up	1.5	2.5	3.4	5.4

Overall, by looking just at re-employment success, i.e., based on finding a job or not, women did better than men in finding a job at this earlier time period. Changes in employment status, however, were noted after three months with men showing more improvement than women. Men's re-employment success improved markedly in the longer term and women's improved less so, making the groups more comparable. However at three months post-JFC the group with the highest percentage of re-employment success was still mid-age women followed by mid-age men. Older women were next and older men had the lowest percentage of re-employment success. Age seemed to make more of a difference because the workers in the 45-54 age group were more likely to find a job than their older counterparts. It seems clear that older men in this study have the greatest difficulty with re-employment as has been noted by other researchers (Laczko & Phillipson, 1991; Picot & Wannell, 1987).

Job changers. There were 31 JFC members who changed their jobs between the end of the JFC and the three month follow-up. These were termed "job changers". Most of these were mid-age workers, more women than men. What is noticeable about the differences between the two jobs is that even though skill level did not go up appreciably, the salary levels certainly did. The mean salary level for this group of 31 job changers was $16594.34 (SD 6197.23) at the end of the JFC and $18437.75 (SD 5865.70) three months later. Furthermore, in terms of how the workers reported their salary, they were much less likely to be receiving a commission or an hourly wage, and more apt to have an annual salary at the later time period. These job changers did improve their jobs.

Likelihood of Having a Job at the End of the JFC

Even though the age and gender group in which one is a member is important in job finding success other factors contribute to this success so it is important to examine those among the JFC participants. As described fully in the methodology chapter a logistic regression was used to see what variables predicted the likelihood of having a job versus not having a job at the end of the JFC. The dependent variable is the job finding outcome (0 = no job and 1= a job). The independent variables are long term unemployment (0 = no and 1 = yes), willing to change skill level (0 = no and 1 = yes), previous job (0 = primary sector and 1= secondary sector), age and gender (mid-age men the referent group, mid-age women, older men, and older women), education (university the referent group, less than high school, high school, and vocational/college or technical), and year looking for work (1992 the referent year, 1989, 1990, and 1991). The best fitting model relating the prevalence of finding a job at the end of the JFC to the predictor variables is presented in Table 4-6. All the variables were entered together. Four variables contributed significantly to the prediction: age and gender, year looking for work, type of previous job and willing to change skill level from previous job. Using the odds ratio (ExpB), which indicates the odds of having a job at the end of the JFC versus not having a job (dependent variable) and controlling for the other variables in the model, the odds of being employed versus unemployed were 1.7 times greater if the JFC participant was a mid-age woman.

Table 4-6: Logistic Regression: Prediction of the Likelihood of Having a Job at the End of the JFC (*N* = 616)

Predictor Variable	b§	Sig	ExpB
Age-gender group [mid-males]		0.028	
Mid-females	.541	0.010	1.718
Older males	.029	0.908	1.029
Older females	.567	0.052	1.762
Education [University]		0.696	
Less than high school	.227	0.535	1.255
High school	-.037	0.873	0.964
Vocational/College	-.165	0.446	0.848
Long term unemployed [No]			
Yes	-.127	0.486	0.881
Year [1992]		0.002	
Year 1989	.772	0.001	2.165
Year 1990	.398	0.108	1.489
Year 1991	-.027	0.906	0.973
Willing to change skill level [No]			
Yes	.441	0.017	1.554
Previous job [Primary sector job]			
Secondary sector job	.465	0.009	1.592
Constant	-1.107	0.000	

§Unstandardized logistic regression coefficients
Reference category for indicator variables is contained in square brackets.

Using the same comparison group, i.e., mid-age men, the odds of older women finding a job were 1.7 greater. Similarly the odds of finding a job versus not finding a job were over two times greater if the person was searching for a job in 1989 as compared with 1992, and using the same comparison, almost 1.5 times greater in 1990. The odds of a participant who was willing to change skill level of finding a job versus not finding a job were 1.5 times greater than if he or she were not willing to change skill level. If a person were employed previously in a secondary sector job, as compared with a primary sector job, the odds of finding a job as opposed to not finding one at this early time period were 1.5 times greater.

Likelihood of Having a Job at the Three Month Follow-up

The same model was used to examine which of the six variables contributed to predicting the likelihood of having a job versus not having a job at the three month follow-up. The results are shown in Table 4-7. There were a number of differences. At this point there was only one significant predictor variable; year searching for work. With all other variables controlled and compared with 1992, the odds of a participant finding a job versus not finding a job were 3.5 times higher if the person were searching for work through the JFC in 1989, and 2.5 times greater in 1990. This finding suggests that of the variables available for inclusion in the model, in the longer term the labour market conditions were the most important predictors. Labour market conditions were more favourable during 1989 and 1990 than they were in 1992.

The importance of most of the predictors of finding a job versus not finding a job for the two time periods changed. These findings indicate that JFCs, in the shorter term, work better for mid-age and older women and persons coming from a secondary sector job. This is not a surprising finding as these are the clientele that JFCs were created to assist in finding work.

Table 4-7: Logistic Regression: Prediction of the Likelihood of Having a Job at the Three Month Follow-up (*N* = 600)

Predictor Variable	b§	Sig	ExpB
Age-gender group [mid-males]		0.144	
Mid-females	.256	0.298	1.292
Older males	-.402	0.121	0.669
Older females	.033	0.921	1.034
Education [University]		0.265	
Less than high school	-.002	0.996	0.998
High school	.029	0.910	1.029
Vocational/College	-.396	0.100	0.673
Long term unemployed [No]			
Yes	.161	0.433	1.175
Year [1992]		0.000	
Year 1989	1.255	0.000	3.513
Year 1990	.926	0.001	2.535
Year 1991	.387	0.105	1.479
Willing to change skill level [No]			
Yes	.2420	0.266	1.092
Previous job [Primary sector job]			
Secondary sector job	.088	0.669	1.592
Constant	.486	0.055	

§Unstandardized logistic regression coefficients
Reference category for indicator variables is contained in square brackets.

Summary: Re-employment Success of Older Workers

There are some distinct patterns noted in the re-employment success among the four age and gender groups studied in both the short term and in the longer term. Gender seemed more important in the short term in that a higher percentage of mid-age women and older women were able to obtain a job at the end of the JFC. Almost one-half of the women found a job during or at least by the end of the program. Tracking these same individuals over time demonstrated that in the longer term gender made less of a difference as mid-age men made considerable gains in their ability to find a job, but age and gender still had an impact in that mid-age women were slightly more likely to be successful. At the three month follow-up a higher percentage of mid-age women and men had jobs followed closely by older women with older men lagging behind. A possible explanations for this finding is a difference in job acceptance in that women might have been more willing or perhaps needed to take the first job offered, and therefore, did so, while the men were willing or able to search longer and as a consequence waited until they received a job offer they were looking for and would accept. The results of this study are somewhat inconsistent with those of Rosen (1987) who found that the younger women in her study were less likely to take the first job offered especially if this were associated with a loss of pay, however, all her participants were married, and therefore, might have had more flexibility than the women in this research in their ability to refuse a job offer that did not meet their expectations. They were also a more homogeneous group in that they had come from relatively well-paid factory jobs, and their reservation wage may have been a greater issue than in the present study.

The socio-demographic characteristics of the various groups in this study suggest that women, especially mid-age women, might have more economic pressures on them to find a job more quickly. Women were less likely to have a spouse or partner and a number of mid-age women had dependents so there may been more financial pressure on them to find a job. The likelihood of financial pressure being the main motivating factor for getting a job is increased if you look at what the women earned in their previous employment. Both groups of women were much more likely to have earned less than $20,000./year in their previous jobs than the men attending the JFC. Older men were also more apt to use a pension or savings as a source of income while unemployed, again perhaps suggesting more flexibility in re-employment, and therefore, the kind of job they might accept.

The mid-age women in the study tended to have longer periods of being out of the labour force than looking for work, suggesting that there were more re-entrants to the labour market among this group. This combined with the fact that over half of this group did not have a spouse or partner could conceivably indicate that there were a number of displaced homemakers among the mid-age women. Therefore, among these possible re-entrants in the study could be displaced homemakers who have greater financial pressures to find a job as their previous sources of income are discontinued or at least diminished. Another characteristic of displaced homemakers would be that they had less experience with the job market, so had less knowledge of jobs available or how to look for these jobs. They simply took the first job available. The fact that mid-age men increased their re-employment in the longer term may be explained by their having a greater reservation wage, i.e., the wage at which they would accept a job, and thus some were able to, and did, wait until a more suitable job was available. This process would take a longer period of time. They may also have had more experience with the labour market, and job information, so they were able to find a better job even if it meant a longer search. For older women Jones (1983) found having labour market information decreased the length of re-entrant unemployment, and while she did not address the quality of this information for re-employment, it could influence the type of employment the participants obtain. In both the short term at the end of the JFC program and in the longer term at the three month follow-up the year the participant was attending the program and thus searching for a job were important predictors of job finding success suggesting the importance of labour market conditions; a significant finding in both logistic regression analyses.

Occupational Changes with Re-employment

Finding a job is an important measure of re-employment success but there are other dimensions of employment that need to be studied in order to assess the quality of the new jobs, and look at whether or not increasing labour market segmentation is taking place among older workers who become re-employed. Questions to ask include: Is the new job at least as good as the old one? better than the old one? or is the person in a poorer job? (Leana & Feldman, 1992). The second research question addressed these issues by asking: What happens to older workers attending a JFC who become re-employed in term of their occupational mobility and salary? Is there evidence of a loss of salary and deskilling? Is there a difference by age and gender? Five of the measures available for the current study used to compare occupational changes were occupational mobility, changes in skill type, skill level, deskilling, and salary.

Occupational Mobility

Occupational mobility was measured by whether a person became employed in an occupation different from their previous occupation. It simply measured whether the occupation the person obtained when they were re-employed at both time periods studied, i.e., end of the JFC and the three month follow-up, was the same or different as compared with their previous occupation. At the end of the JFC and based on NOC designations most, 72.7%, of the participants were in a different occupation and there was little difference among the four age and gender groups; mid-age women had the greatest percentage occupational change (74.5%), and older women the lowest percentage change (67.6%). For some of the participants it simply meant that they changed within their occupational level, i.e., from a bookkeeper (NOC 1231) to a loans officer (NOC 1232), which signifies little difference, while for others the change was more marked, for example, a secondary school teacher (NOC 4141) found a new job as a data entry clerk (NOC 1422); a change between occupational levels.

At the three month follow-up, the overall percentage of those who had changed their occupation was exactly the same as that noted at the end of the JFC, 72.7%, however, some changes were noted within the age and gender groups. There was a higher percentage of change among mid-age women (78.0% vs. 74.5%), only a slightly higher change among older women (68.6% vs. 67.6%), and a lower percentage change among both groups of men; 70.7% vs 72.0% for mid-age men and 69.4% vs. 70.7% for older men. While these percentages offer some indication of occupational mobility, some might reasonably argue that if the occupations are very similar there is no real change.

The examination of changes using skill type and skill level permitted a more detailed examination and the ability to look for marked changes in occupational mobility. Occupational change or mobility, based on moving to a different occupational grouping, for example from health occupations to business, finance and administrative occupations, could be measured by change in skill type. Change in skill level allowed for an analysis of whether or not deskilling, i.e., moving to a job requiring less skill, was taking place with re-employment.

Comparisons of Skill Type and Skill Level Between Jobs

Skill type. According to NOC, skill type refers to the type of work performed and is reflective of such factors as how similar is the required educational field for the job as well as how similar is the industry where the person is employed. The skill types used are the nine broad occupational categories of the NOC, which are: 1) business, finance and administration occupations; 2) natural and applied sciences and related occupations; 3) health occupations; 4) occupations in social science, education, government service and religion; 5) occupations in art, culture, recreation and sport; 6) sales and service occupations; 7) trades, transport and equipment operators and related occupations; 8) occupations unique to primary industry; and, 9) occupations unique to processing, manufacturing and utilities. A change from one grouping to another was a better indication of occupational mobility than a change within the same grouping.

Skill level. NOC describes skill level as the type and amount of education and training required to be able to enter and perform the duties characteristic of a particular occupation. In the NOC classification there are four categories of skill level: 1) skill level A (Professional occupations); 2) skill level B (Technical, paraprofessional, and skilled occupations); 3) skill level C (Intermediate occupations); and, 4) skill level D (Labouring and elemental occupations). Management occupations are a separate category but are not given a skill level within NOC. According to NOC management occupations do not have a skill level criteria because frequently in these positions previous experience may be more important for employment. Skill level A usually requires a university degree, skill level B a post-secondary education at a recognized institution or apprenticeship training or appropriate on-the-job training, skill level C one to four years of secondary school education and extensive on-the-job training, and skill level D up to two years of secondary school and training of short duration. A movement from a higher skill level to a lower one was defined as deskilling. For each of the two time periods examined, i.e., end of the JFC and three month follow-up, skill types and skill levels are compared for the JFC members who found jobs to see what changes occurred in these two measures. For purposes of analysis movement from management occupations were compared with the movement among the other four skill levels.

Changes in skill at the end of the JFC. Table 4-8 shows a comparison of skill type and level for jobs at the end of the JFC, with those of their previous jobs for all those who had found a job at that time. This comparison helps to see the changes that have taken place for these workers. The participants who found employment lost jobs in business, finance, and administration occupations.

Table 4-8: Comparison of Skill Type and Skill Level of Previous Job and New Job for Those Re-employed at End of the JFC

SKILL	Previous Job				End JFC			
	Mid-age Men (*n* =84)[a] %	Mid-age Women (n=99) %	Older Men (n=41) %	Older Women (*n* =35) %	Mid-age Men (*n* =84) %	Mid-age Women (n=99) %	Older Men (n=41) %	Older Women (*n* =35) %
Skill type								
Business, finance, & admin	31.7	61.6	22.0	57.1	21.4	58.6	14.6	40.0
Natural & applied sciences	7.3	1.0	14.6	--	4.8	--	9.8	--
Health occupations	--	5.1	4.9	2.9	--	5.1	--	--
Social science & related fields	6.1	2.0	2.4	8.6	7.1	7.1	4.9	14.3
Art, culture, recreation, & sport	2.4	--	7.3	2.9	3.6	3.0	--	--
Sales & service	28.0	27.3	29.3	28.6	41.7	25.3	46.3	42.9
Trades, transport., & equip. op.	18.3	1.0	17.1	--	19.0	1.0	17.1	2.9
Primary industry	2.4	--	--	--	--	--	2.4	--
Processing, utilities, & manu.	3.7	2.0	2.4	--	2.4	--	4.9	--
Skill level								
Management	10.8	2.0	14.6	5.7	11.9	1.0	12.2	--
Skill level A	14.5	5.1	4.9	8.6	13.1	10.1	12.2	8.6
Skill level B	32.5	30.6	41.5	34.3	29.8	25.3	29.3	34.3
Skill level C	27.7	55.1	31.7	48.6	31.0	56.6	29.3	40.0
Skill level D	14.5	7.1	7.3	2.9	14.3	7.1	17.0	17.1

There was an 8% loss of jobs in these occupations with age and gender differences noted in the loss. Older women had the greatest change (17.1%), mid-age men second (10.3%), older men third (7.4%), and mid-age women the least (3.0%). All the groups had some losses in occupations in the natural and applied sciences, however, very few women had been employed in these occupations. The occupations where most of the re-employed JFC members except mid-age women made gains were in sales and services occupations. This was particularly the case for both groups of men and older women, as older men had a 17.3% increase in jobs in these occupations, mid-age men had a 13.7% increase, and older women had a 14.4% increase. Mid-age women had a slight negative change in these occupations when they were re-employed. They tended to find jobs more readily in clerical occupations.

Turning to skill level the greatest changes are observed at skill level B (Technical, skilled, and paraprofessional occupations), with all age and gender groups losing some jobs in that category, with the exception of older women. With a 12.2% loss of jobs in level B older men had by far the greatest loss. One of the marked changes by age was that older men had a 9.8% increase in jobs at skill level D (Labouring and elemental occupations) and older women had a 14.2% increase in jobs at this level. Mid-age women and older men gained jobs in skill level A (Professional occupations). Some of these had been underemployed in their previous occupation as they had higher educational qualifications than needed for their jobs and were working in lower skill jobs on a part-time basis, and came into the JFC to improve their employment situation. Mid-age workers gained jobs in skill level C (Intermediate occupations) and older men and women had a decrease of jobs in this category. All age and gender groups except mid-age men lost jobs at the management level.

Changes in skill at three months follow-up. Table 4-9 shows a comparison of skill type and skill level for jobs obtained with those of the previous jobs for JFC members who were re-employed by the three month follow-up. More had found jobs and some had changed jobs, therefore, the picture changed somewhat as adjustments occurred. The percentage who had been employed in business, finance, and administrative occupations decreased, however, it was not as marked as it was just after the JFC. Mid-age men did have the greatest percentage change; a decrease of 7.8% employed in these occupations. All of the age and gender groups lost jobs in the natural and applied sciences and here older men suffered the greatest loss (8.2%). Once again it was in sales and services where jobs were gained by all groups. Somewhat the same pattern is evident at this period as was noted at the end of the JFC. Older men with a 17.8% increase in sales and services jobs were still the most likely group to gain these type of jobs. They were followed fairly closely by older women who increased their employment in sales and services by 14.3%. Increased labour market segmentation was definitely a feature of re-employment among the older groups of men and women as they moved to jobs in occupations considered more in the periphery than in the core labour market.

All the age and gender groups lost jobs at the management level, and this was greater for the older workers than it was for the mid-age workers. All the older women who were employed previously as managers lost jobs at this level while older men had a 5.5% decrease. Mid-age men had the smallest percentage decrease in jobs at the managerial level. At this time as compared with the re-employment findings at the end of the JFC, mid-age men increased their employment in skill level A (Professional occupations) as did mid-age women, but they had less of a percentage increase than the men. Older men stayed the same and older women lost jobs in professional occupations. Participants lost jobs at skill level B (Technical, paraprofessional, and skilled occupations) with older men having the greatest percentage decrease and mid-age women the second greatest.

Table 4-9: Comparison of Skill Type and Skill Level of Previous Job and Job at the Three Month Follow-up for Those Re-employed

	Previous Job				Three month follow-up			
SKILL	Mid-age Men (*n* =174) %	Mid-age Women (n=152) %	Older Men (n=73) %	Older Women (*n* =51) %	Mid-age Men (*n* =176) %	Mid-age Women (n=152) %	Older Men (n=73) %	Older Women (*n* =52) %
Skill type								
Business, finance, & admin	32.2	59.9	17.8	56.9	24.4	56.6	15.1	50.0
Natural & applied sciences	12.6	0.7	19.2	2.0	9.1	--	11.0	--
Health occupations	--	3.9	2.7	3.9	--	5.3	--	--
Social science & related fields	5.7	6.6	5.5	7.8	8.0	7.9	5.5	11.5
Art, culture, recreation, & sport	2.3	2.0	6.8	2.0	5.1	2.0	2.7	--
Sales & service	23.6	23.7	26.0	25.5	34.7	27.0	43.8	36.5
Trades, transport., & equip. op.	18.4	1.3	17.8	--	17.6	1.3	15.1	1.9
Primary industry	1.7	--	--	2.0	--	--	2.7	--
Processing, utilities, & manu.	3.4	2.0	4.1	--	1.1	--	4.1	--
Skill level								
Management	12.6	4.0	13.6	5.9	11.3	0.7	8.2	--
Skill level A	16.6	8.6	13.7	11.8	19.8	9.9	13.7	7.4
Skill level B	37.7	29.1	38.4	33.3	32.2	20.4	28.8	26.9
Skill level C	22.9	54.3	24.7	45.1	28.2	62.5	30.1	50.0
Skill level D	10.3	4.0	9.6	3.9	8.5	6.6	19.2	15.4

Gains were in jobs at skill level C (Intermediate occupations) for the four groups, and with the exception of mid-age men, at skill level D (Labouring and elemental occupations). Mid-age men had a decrease of jobs at this particular level.

Occupational Change: Deskilling

In order to examine whether or not deskilling or downward occupational mobility was taking place with re-employment the skill level of the participants' new jobs were compared with their previous jobs. By exploring how many re-employed JFC members actually have a job with a lower skill level than their previous employment it is possible to describe how much deskilling is taking place. Table 4-10 shows how much deskilling there was at the end of the JFC and at the three month follow-up for the age and gender groups.

At the end of the JFC only a slightly higher percentage of mid-age men experienced deskilling or found a job in an occupation requiring a lower level of skill than was required in their previous job than was the case with the older age and gender groups. Re-employed mid-age women experienced a lower rate of deskilling. As Table 4-8 above illustrates this was because mid-age men lost jobs in both professional and technical, paraprofessional, and skilled occupations and gained them in intermediate occupations, most notably, in sales and service occupations.

Older men at the same time period lost jobs in management and technical, paraprofessional, and skilled occupations and gained them mainly in labouring and elemental occupations, while for the older women who found jobs, the gain was in labouring and elemental occupations and the loss in intermediate occupations. What was noticeable about older men and women is the increase in jobs at skill level D as compared with previous occupation, older men had a 9.7% increase and older women had a 14.2% increase.

Table 4-10: Deskilling at End of JFC and at Three Month Follow-up by Age and Gender Group

Change	Mid-age men 45-54 %	Mid-age women 45-54 %	Older men 55-64 %	Older women 55-64 %
END OF JFC:				
Deskilling	(*n* = 83)	(*n* = 98)	(*n* = 41)	(*n* = 34)
No	72.3	77.6	73.2	73.5
Yes	27.7	22.4	26.8	26.5
THREE MONTH FOLLOW-UP:				
Deskilling	(*n* =175)	(*n* =150)	(*n* = 72)	(*n* = 51)
No	75.4	69.3	66.7	66.7
Yes	24.6	30.7	33.3	33.3

By the three month follow-up the percentage of mid-age men who experienced deskilling had decreased somewhat, while it had increased for the other age and gender groups.

As was illustrated in Table 4-9 previously mid-age men who had found a job now had a decrease in occupations in management and again in technical, paraprofessional, and skilled occupations, however, they gained in professional occupations. For mid-age women the same trend was evident. Both older men and women gained in occupations at the lowest level; labouring and elemental occupations. In this respect age and gender differences were evident in the extent of deskilling which took place.

Occupational Goals vs. Previous Occupation

A limitation of much of the past research on deskilling of the type described in this study is that there has been no information around the individual's choice or possible preference around this change (Rosenfeld, 1992). In contrast there has been discussion in the literature that older workers, especially in their pre-retirement years may, want a job with a lower skill level or of a part-time nature as a "bridging" job until retirement (Applebaum & Gregory, 1990; Doeringer, 1990). Information on the participants' records in the present study could be used to examine the desire for a change in occupation. Only participants who have a clear occupational goal are accepted into the JFC and this goal is recorded on their summary record, therefore, it is possible to compare each participant's occupational goal with previous occupation and look at their whether or not they intended to change their occupation. Table 4-11 shows the difference in occupational goal as compared with their previous occupation. Skill level and type of occupational goal is compared to see what changes participants wanted or alternatively they were willing to make.

The older workers in the study were not looking to change occupations in skill level or type in any great numbers. They most frequently wanted to stay at the same skill level. A higher percentage of older women than of any of the other groups wished to remain in the same skill level or type. However, when older women are willing to change skill level they more frequently stated an occupational goal with a lower skill level. While it is only possible to speculate why this is so, perhaps they were looking for a "bridging" type of job leading to their retirement or at least are looking for what they perceive to be a less demanding type of job.

One of the limitations of the data is that we do not know if the previous occupation they were in prior to coming to the JFC is their usual occupation or a job they ended up in because no other type of employment was available nor do we know their motivation for stating the occupational goal they did, or the influence of JFC facilitators in choosing an occupational goal; all information which would help evaluate these findings more definitively. These job participants may feel it was not a good strategy to look for a job in an occupation where they had just been laid off from or that had a high unemployment rate in the local labour market, so they changed to what they saw as a better occupational goal.

Table 4-11: Difference in Skill Level and Skill Type with Occupational Goal as Compared with Previous Occupation by Age and Gender Group

Desire to change:	Mid-age men 45-54 (n = 246)[a] %	Mid-age women 45-54 (n = 200)[b] %	Older men 55-64 (n = 116)[c] %	Older women 55-64 (n = 74)[d] %
Skill level				
No	69.6	62.8	72.2	80.8
Yes - Higher	18.8	19.3	17.5	6.8
Yes - Lower	11.7	17.3	12.3	12.3
Skill type				
No	74.6	74.6	73.7	78.1
Yes	25.4	25.4	26.3	21.9

[a] 6 responses missing [b] 3 responses missing [c] 2 responses missing
[d] 1 response missing

Mid-age workers regardless of gender wanted a job at a higher skill level more often if they stated an occupational goal different from their old job. However, mid-age women stated with almost equal frequency a job goal with a lower skill level as one with a higher skill level. A number of participants in all age and gender groups were underemployed. They had higher educational qualifications than were required for the occupation held in their previous job and it is perhaps this group who are more likely to want a higher skill level. The highest percentage of workers who state an occupational goal with a lower skill level than their previous job are mid-age women. A few of these were at a higher skill level and were looking for clerical work but that does not explain all the difference. Some of them may have been looking for part-time work and perceived more job opportunities for same in the occupations they stated as their occupational goal.

Most of the JFC members were not looking for a job with a different skill type, that is, if they had been in a job in the health occupations, they wanted to remain in that category. Some groups of workers may be more constrained than others in their occupational goal as it had to be realistic and that would require it to be congruent with their educational preparation, their job training, and experience. All age and gender groups are fairly equal in the percentage of JFC members who are looking for a new job with a different skill type versus those who are not. Mid-age men are more likely to say they are looking to change skill type and older women more likely to say they are not, however, intended occupational mobility if this is what is being captured here is not high. Older workers or any group who wish to change occupations are more apt to take a retraining program than enter a job finding club so the finding is not unexpected.

Predictors of Deskilling

The probability of deskilling versus not experiencing deskilling upon re-employment is estimated using logistic regression at the three-month follow-up. The dependent variable is deskilling (0 = no deskilling and 1= deskilling). The six independent variables are long term unemployment (0 = no and 1 = yes), willing to change skill level (0 = no and 1 = yes), found work quickly (0 = yes and 1 = no), age and gender group (mid-age men the referent group, mid-age women, older men, and older women), education (university the referent group, less than high school, high school, and vocational/college or technical), and year looking for work (1992 the referent year, 1989, 1990, and 1991). The best fitting model relating the prevalence of deskilling, compared with no deskilling taking place, to the predictor variables is presented in Table 4-12. All the variables were entered together. The odds of experiencing deskilling in the new job versus no deskilling taking place are represented by the ExpB coefficients; greater than 1 means the odds are increased while less than 1 means the odds are decreased. Looking at the variables in the model only one significantly predicted the likelihood of deskilling. Those participants who were willing to change their skill level as compared with those who wanted to remain at the same skill level were 2.5 times as likely to be in the deskilled group. The findings perhaps highlight the importance of choice in deskilling taking place.

Table 4-12: Logistic Regression Estimates Predicting the Likelihood of Experiencing Deskilling at the Three Month Follow-up (N = 440)

Predictor Variable	B	Sig.	ExpB
Age and gender group [Mid-age men]		.255	
Mid-age women	.312	.244	1.365
Older men	.523	.099	1.687
Older women	.595	.120	1.812
Year [1992]		.801	
1989	-.244	.427	.783
1990	.006	.985	1.006
1991	.013	.967	1.013
Highest level of Education [University]		.911	
Less than high school	-.068	.884	.934
High school	-.192	.503	.826
Vocational/technical/college	-.149	.588	.861
Long term unemployment [No]	.1128	.624	1.119
Willing to change skill level [No]			
Yes	.919	0.000	2.507
Found work quickly [Yes]			
No	-.338	.134	.713
Constant	-1.210	.000	

§Unstandardized logistic regression coefficients
Reference category for indicator variables is contained in square brackets.

It would seem that some of the deskilling observed was voluntary, or at least a strategic choice, by the participants in their search for work. It could also be a rationalization or self-fulfilling prophecy. The participants set their ambitions for a job low to increase their chances of employment. Although not significant the odds of older men and older women when compared with mid-age men to experience deskilling were greater. In this model labour market conditions, important predictors for finding a job, were not as important when looking at the odds of deskilling taking place versus no deskilling occurring.

Comparisons of Salary Between Previous Job and New Jobs

Most plant closing or worker displacement studies show that those who become re-employed with increased frequency obtain a new job with a lower salary although they differ as to whether men or women have the greater salary losses. This finding seems to hold whether or not the person is re-employed in the same occupation as previously held or not. A loss in average annual earnings was noted in this study both at the end of the JFC and at the three month follow-up. The finding may in part reflect the number of people who became re-employed in sales and services positions where frequently jobs are for minimum hourly wages. Table 4-13 shows a comparison of mean earnings of the successfully re-employed participant's previous job with the job obtained at the end of the JFC and similarly at the three months follow-up. Re-employment resulted in a decrease in the average earnings for the participants at these times. At the end of the JFC for the total group there was a 24% decrease in salary with mid-age men having the greatest percentage decrease (25%), older men second (23%), followed by older women (21%), and lastly mid-age women (13%).

A slightly different pattern was evident at the three month follow-up. Overall and by age and gender groups percentage loss while still present was not as great as it was at the end of the JFC. At this later time mid-age men, older men, and older women all had the same percentage decrease (19%) and mid-age women had a smaller decrease (11%). On average women's earnings were less than men's in their previous jobs. There were 12.3% of the participants who's earnings could not be estimated at the second re-employment period because these workers found jobs that paid a commission instead of a specified salary so they could not report a specific amount.

Table 4-13: Comparison of Mean Salary of Previous Job and Job at End of JFC and Previous Job and Job at Three Months for JFC Members Re-employed at These Two Time Periods

	MEAN	SD	*N*	MEAN	SD	*N*
	Previous salary			**Salary end JFC**		
Total group	$26,560.	$12,705.	244	$20,084.	$8,525.	220
Mid-age men	31,066.	13,026.	82	22,992.	10,531.	69
Mid-age women	20,728.	9,493.	89	18,090.	6,778.	90
Older men	30,208.	13,929.	37	23,172.	7,366.	29
Older women	20,960.	8,175.	36	16,623.	6,134.	32
	Previous salary			**Salary at Three Months**		
Total group	$25,605.	$11,871.	428	$21,067.	$8,689.	375
Mid-age men	29,980.	12,652.	173	24,411.	10,136.	136
Mid-age women	20,772.	9806.	141	18,510.	6,578.	135
Older men	27,821.	11,177.	66	22,536.	8,366.	56
Older women	20,988.	8135.	48	17,070.	5,515.	48

One of the greatest changes noted after re-employment is in how the participants reported the method of payment, i.e., whether they were paid hourly, daily, or annually, of their earnings, in their new job as compared with previous employment. When the JFC members obtained a new job they were much less likely to report an annual salary and more likely to report earnings by hourly wage or by commission than previously. Men were more likely to report they are receiving a commission for salary in their new jobs than women. A small number of men became self-employed and therefore did not report either a salary or a commission. In their previous job the majority of participants in all age and gender groups reported an annual salary. Women slightly less so than men. Changes were dramatic when these participants found a new job. A very small percentage reported an annual salary in their new job.

Table 4-14 shows the reported method of payment of salary for previous jobs and for new jobs at the end of the JFC and at three months follow-up for all workers and for the four age and gender groups. Changes in the reporting of earnings are sometimes difficult to interpret either in the amounts reported or in how the salary is paid. Additionally, there may be substantial error in the reporting, therefore, it is difficult to know for certain true salary/wage rates and changes in them when these measures are self-reported.

While there is no way of knowing if the changes reported represent a real change rather than an idiosyncracy in reporting this finding in method of payment might well reflect the large numbers who obtained their new jobs in sales and services. These jobs tend be paid on an hourly wage rather than an annual salary. Another possible explanation is that the high rate of change to an hourly rate reflects the temporary nature of jobs that participants were able to obtain. Older workers are more likely than younger workers to be re-employed in new jobs that have shorter tenures (Heisz, 1996). They also are showing a trend to end up with more contingent work arrangements (Golden, 1992); both of which could contribute to an hourly wage rate.

One of the main limitations of the data is that the permanency of the new jobs if known was not recorded, therefore, it is difficult to say what the changes represent. While some records did have a notation that either the JFC member had found a job with a limited term appointment or was part-time in nature, which might have contributed to more receiving hourly wages, this was not recorded for all participants. In addition the status of the previous job, whether that job was part- or full-time, was not recorded for any of the JFC participants so comparisons cannot be made. More detailed employment data is required to compare old and new jobs as fully as would be desirable.

Table 4-14: Comparison of Reported Payment Method of Previous Job with Job at End of JFC and Job at Three Months for Those Re-employed by Age and Gender Group

	End of JFC (n = 260)		Three Month Follow-up (n = 456)	
	Previous Job %	New Job %	Previous Job %	New Job %
Mid-age men				
Hourly	12.0	62.7	10.9	57.0
Monthly	6.0	10.8	5.1	11.8
Annual	80.7	9.6	82.9	11.2
Commission	1.3	16.9	1.1	20.0
Mid-age women				
Hourly	11.1	75.5	12.7	75.1
Monthly	5.6	17.0	7.0	17.4
Annual	82.2	3.2	79.6	2.7
Commission	1.1	4.3	0.7	4.8
Older men				
Hourly	5.4	53.8	9.0	55.6
Monthly	5.4	10.3	3.0	11.1
Annual	89.2	10.3	86.6	11.1
Commission	-.-	25.6	1.4	22.2
Older women				
Hourly	16.7	74.3	12.5	74.0
Monthly	11.1	11.4	12.5	10.0
Annual	72.2	5.7	75.0	12.0
Commission	-.-	8.6	-.-	4.0

Summary: Occupational Change with Re-employment

The second research question asked what happens to older workers in a JFC in terms of occupational mobility and salary when they become re-employed and if they differ by age and gender. A fair amount of occupational mobility as measured by changes in skill level and skill type in the new job as compared with the previous job was evident among the participants and there seemed to be both short term and longer term effects noted. At the end of the JFC a smaller percentage of re-employed workers were employed in business, finance, and administrative occupations and this trend continued at the three month follow-up. Over the study period there was a small net loss of jobs in these industries in the local labour market. Losses were noted in natural and applied sciences at the end of the JFC with a small recovery at the end of three months. Gains in employment were made to some extent in the social sciences category but to the greatest extent in sales and services occupations. Other occupational categories showed more fluctuation.

Changes in skill levels demonstrate a great deal of fluctuation and these differ by age and gender. At the end of the JFC mid-age women and older men were more likely to gain jobs at skill level A (Professional occupations) while this trend changed somewhat at the three month follow-up. Apart from mid-age men at the end of the JFC, all age and gender groups lost jobs in management. The skill level where most job loss seemed to occur was skill level B (Technical, paraprofessional, and skilled occupations). To some extent older workers may be more vulnerable in terms of obtaining such a position. When employers are hiring for jobs demanding technical skills they want a younger worker who has more recently come from a postsecondary institution and might be credited with having more up-to-date skills. The attribution of skills obsolescence to older workers is not uncommon.

Gera and Rahman (1991a) suggest from their study that as the age of the person increases there is less occupational mobility and this is what was observed in the present study. Looking at actual occupational changes upon re-employment a higher percentage of mid-age and older men were in occupations with skill type different from their previous occupations and this pattern was more marked at the three month follow-up. These men were followed in degree of occupational mobility by mid-age women at the end of the JFC but slightly less so at the three month follow-up suggesting that some men did search until they found a job more in keeping with their skill level. Older workers did not have as much occupational change by skill level upon re-employment as the mid-age workers. Losses noted in skill level upon re-employment among older men is consistent with the findings of Westergaard, Noble, and Walker (1989) in their study on re-employment after a job loss.

As was cited in the literature review another common feature of re-employment especially if a person had been employed in a highly skilled well-paying job is that they experience deskilling. Deskilling may occur when a person goes from a job with a higher skill level to one of a lower skill level. While not marked among this group of mid-age and older workers it was certainly a phenomenon that was not uncommon. Around a quarter of re-employed participants exhibited this phenomenon at the end of the JFC and 30% by the three month follow-up. The age and gender group more likely to report deskilling also varied. In the short term it was mid-age men but in the longer term it was older men and the women workers. The latter finding is more in keeping with findings from plant closing studies which does indicate that older men are more likely to have this difficulty.

What this study was able to demonstrate and which is not often reported in previous research is that a number of older workers (in this study approximately 13%) had an occupational goal which if compared to their old occupation would lead to deskilling. Mid-age women in this study were more likely to do so and mid-age men the least likely. What is difficult to interpret is what is happening; did the occupational goal stated represent a conscious choice on the part of the JFC member to have a less skilled job or a strategy to choose an occupation where they felt there was a better chance of re-employment as more jobs might be available? Whatever the answer to the question just posed is, in the logistic regression willingness to change occupational level was a predictor of actual deskilling. None of the other variables in the model were predictive of deskilling.

Previous research on re-employment usually addresses changes in earnings more so than changes in skill type or skill level. One of the most common findings is that when older workers become re-employed their new work is often at reduced pay (OECD, 1995b). This is consistent with findings from other studies evaluating re-employment programs in the U.S. (Sorensen, 1987; Turnage, 1987; Wohl, 1987) which documented that new jobs generally resulted in a loss of salary. Similarly studies on plant closings and other forms of job loss have demonstrated that when the displaced workers find new jobs it often means at less pay (Howland, 1988; Seitchik & Zornitsky, 1989; Shapiro & Sandell, 1987). In 1986/87 in Canada of those who changed jobs at retirement age two-thirds had a major loss in wages (Ross & Shillington, 1991). Findings in the literature related to gender and salary changes vary. Burke (1985) and Winson and Leach (1995) found women had greater earning loss than men upon re-employment, while Grayson (1985) found women and older workers, men included, had greater losses, and Picot and Wannell (1987) found men had the greatest loss in salary. The findings in this study would be more comparable to those of Picot and Wannell.

Upon re-employment mid-age women participating in the JFC had the smallest average decrease of salary at both time periods but their average salaries were the lowest in the previous job. Mid-age men had the largest average decrease at this time. The decrease in salary can be accounted for by the number of JFC participants who lost well paying jobs in business, finance and administrative occupations and obtained new employment in sales and services. Men were more apt to obtain employment in sales jobs in which they received a commission or a small basic salary plus a commission. One of the findings from this research not noted in other studies is that a high percentage of the participants changed from receiving an annual salary to receiving hourly wages in their new jobs; a finding suggestive of less permanent work.

Job Search Behaviour

Poor job searching skills is felt to be one of the major barriers to older worker's successful re-employment (CLMPC, 1990; Underhill, et al., 1997). Throughout the JFC the emphasis is on teaching job finding methods, techniques for using these methods, and encouraging the people attending the club to actively use these methods and techniques. The fourth research question that is specifically addressed was: What are the job search strategies used by older workers in a JFC to find employment? How successful are they? Do these strategies differ by age and gender?

As described in the section on the Job Finding Club, the main techniques that the JFC members are encouraged to use to find jobs are applying for jobs advertised, making telephone calls to employers ("cold calls"), interviewing for positions, and making personal contacts with relatives and friends to provide job leads. Although, the people attending the JFC could use other methods and were encouraged to do so, these four methods are required to be recorded daily on the individual's Progress Chart and each category is summarized on the final JFC record. Thus the main variables used to describe the job search methods of the JFC members are four: 1) number of contacts by phone calls, i.e., cold calls, 2) applications, 3) interviews, and 4) personal contacts. Table 4-15 shows the mean number of job search methods used by all participants in the JFC and by age and gender groups.

Applications. Applying for a job is the method we are most familiar with when seeking a job. We simply seek out sources of job advertisements in newspapers and postings on bulletin boards, and send in an application for the job advertised. It is a non-threatening and passive means of seeking employment, in that in the initial stages anyway, the person is not required to take any action other than responding to a request. A job seeker can send out a large number of applications with little cost in time and JFC members had free access to computers and a copying machine.

Table 4-15: Comparison of Mean Number of Job Searching Techniques Reported for all JFC Members and by Age and gender Group

	MEAN	SD	*N*
Applications			
Total group	17.61	19.72	633
Mid-age men	20.63	25.45	246
Mid-age women	16.98	15.52	199
Older men	14.20	11.55	115
Older women	14.51	16.54	73
Phone Calls			
Total group	13.96	12.35	633
Mid-age men	15.21	13.48	246
Mid-age women	13.72	11.74	199
Older men	12.28	10.93	115
Older women	13.04	11.90	73
Personal Contacts			
Total group	8.44	9.82	633
Mid-age men	9.22	11.91	246
Mid-age women	8.14	8.89	199
Older men	7.83	7.56	115
Older women	7.56	7.19	73
Interviews			
Total group	3.05	4.01	633
Mid-age men	3.31	4.80	246
Mid-age women	2.96	3.18	199
Older men	2.48	3.34	115
Older women	3.40	3.99	73

It is not surprising then that applying for a job is the most frequently used job search behaviour for the members of the JFC, however, there is a wide range in the number of applications individuals made. Some made none and one participant made as high as 232. There was a notification on the JFC record that this number was verified.

Phone calls. Phone calls are a more active means of job search than applications. This method requires more initiative than applications because the worker has to search out the possible employers in the area and make contact with the person in charge of hiring. This method was promoted among the JFC members as the most successful means of getting a job. Phone calls or cold calls to prospective employers is the second most frequently used method in searching for a job. Again there was a fairly wide range in the use of this method between none and 90.

Personal Contacts. Personal contacts which include approaching relatives and friends for a job lead is one of the best methods of obtaining employment. JFC counsellors encourage the participants to contact relatives, friends, past co-workers to look for a job lead. This method of job seeking ranks third in frequency of use by the JFC participants. Variation is noted in the number of personal contacts made, from none to 121.

A possible reason why this method, which appears relatively easy and non-threatening, is used relatively infrequently by some members is that people attending the JFC have already exhausted this method. Many of the participants had been unemployed for a long period and would have been searching for work on their own during this time. Older workers tend to use personal contacts first, and secondly, go to more formal methods when informal methods do not result in a job lead (OPTIONS 45+, 1996b). Additionally, a number of their friends or relatives could be in a similar situation, i.e., searching for employment, and therefore, be unable to assist others in finding a job.

Interviews. Getting an actual interview is more difficult to achieve than the other job finding techniques used. Screening of applicants in the first instance takes place at the application stage where employers select out only those they might wish to consider for a position. In spite of intensive efforts to obtain interviews it is expected that fewer people would actually obtain an interview for a job. Interviews rank last in frequency of use among the four methods promoted at the JFC as a means of searching for work. The range was none to 40.

Differences in Job Search by Age and Gender

As with other studies done in this area there are some differences reported in the use of job searching techniques by age and gender among the JFC participants. Mid-age men have a slightly higher mean number of applications, phone calls, and personal contacts than the other groups followed by mid-age women, suggesting age may be more important than gender in searching for work. The mid-age workers seemed to search more intensely. Older men have the lowest mean number of applications, phone calls, and interviews and older women have the lowest mean number of personal contacts. The latter have the highest mean number of interviews reported. Over one-quarter of mid-age men, 26.0%, were not able to obtain any interviews in spite of the highest average number of phone calls. A slightly lower percentage, 23.3%, of older men record none while the figures for mid-age females and older females who were not given interviews are 16.5% and 6.8% respectively.

Why the older women would have the higher number of interviews granted is difficult to explain and is contrary to what Shaw (1988) suggested, e.g., older women face more discrimination on entry to the labour market. One of the counsellor's at the JFC had also noted that older women more frequently obtained interviews and attributed it to older women being thought of as more dependable as workers. Rosenfeld (1992) suggests older women may be perceived as more desirable employees than younger women because they may have fewer family responsibilities. In examining the findings it is important to keep in mind that all attendees at the JFC are taught how to and encouraged to use the four methods discussed so not as much difference would be expected.

Sources of Finding a Job at the End of the JFC

Participants at the JFC reported the source of their job lead for the new employment they obtained and this information was used to evaluate the success of the different methods of job searching used in the program. Table 4-16 shows the method of finding a job at the end of the JFC and at the three month follow-up by age and gender.

There are no marked differences noted in method of finding a job at the end of the JFC by age and gender.

Table 4-16: Method of Finding a Job at End of JFC and at Three Month Follow-up by Age and Gender

Method	Mid-age men 45-54 %	Mid-age women 45-54 %	Older men 55-64 %	Older women 55-64 %
End of JFC:	(*n* = 84)	(*n* = 99)	(*n* = 41)	(*n* = 36)
Cold calls	39.8	24.2	30.8	36.1
Personal contact	27.4	20.2	30.8	25.0
Newspaper	27.4	32.0	20.5	22.2
UI/CEIC	5.8	7.1	5.1	2.8
Other	9.5	16.2	12.8	13.9
Three month Follow-up:	(*n* = 102)	(*n* = 70)	(*n* = 38)	(*n* = 40)
Cold calls	35.3	21.4	28.9	25.0
Personal contact	22.5	22.9	39.5	24.8
Newspaper	18.6	24.3	21.1	29.2
UI/CEIC	7.8	7.1	5.3	8.3
Other	15.7	24.3	5.3	20.8

[a] 2 responses missing

Cold calls produced the highest percentage of successful re-employment for all groups except mid-age women, who did better with newspaper ads. UI/CEIC postings had the lowest yield for all. "Other category" contained such methods as church bulletins, previous employers, or leads from other JFC members. A very small number of JFC participants were re-employed by their previous employer and these were participants who were unlikely to spend any length of time attending the JFC.

At the three month follow-up there is more of a difference in the importance of the reported job searching techniques for jobs obtained than at the end of the JFC. Cold calls rank first for mid-age men only, mid-age women still reported newspaper ads as leading to the highest percentage of jobs finds as did older women, and for older men it is now personal contacts. UI/CEIC still produced the fewest job leads. The differences among the four groups, however, are not marked. The method of finding a job did not make a difference as to whether a person found a job at a different skill level or skill type.

Summary: Job Search Behaviour

The fourth research question dealt with differences in job search strategies and the success of these different strategies for finding a job among the men and women attending the JFC. Although the type of job search strategies were determined by the JFC program in that members attending the program were expected to make applications for jobs, make cold calls to prospective employers, use personal contacts as a means of obtaining a job lead, and try and obtain interviews with employers, minor variations were apparent among men and women by age. Applications were by far the most widely used method of job search, followed by phone or cold calls, personal contacts, and interviews.

Even though other researchers have found gender to be important to the method used (Clemenson, 1987; Gower, 1975; Hasan & Gera, 1982), the use of these strategies in this study differed more by age than gender although the differences were not great. For all the strategies except interviews where older women led the way mid-age men and mid-age women, respectively, reported the greatest frequency of use.

That the use of the number of each strategy decreases with age is congruent with previous research on job searching behaviour (Pursell & Torrence, 1980). Hasan and Gera (1982) suggested two factors are important to job search behaviour. The first factor is related to the person themselves in that prime-age male workers will vary in their search behaviour from secondary workers such as workers 55 years and over. The mid-age men who most closely approximate Hasan and Gera's prime-age male workers in that a greater percentage of them came from the three higher skill levels did exhibit a greater intensity of job search as measured by the mean number of applications, phone calls, and personal contacts. The second factor is related to the nature of the labour market in which the person is seeking work. There was variation in the mean number of job search methods by year.

Job search intensity as measured by the number of phone calls, applications and personal contacts was highest in 1992 suggesting the JFC members had to work more intensely to come up with a positive job lead during this period. In contrast the mean number of interviews granted was highest in 1989, which had the most favourable overall labour market conditions. During more favourable employment conditions employers are looking for employees and would grant job interviews more readily.

There was not a great deal of difference in what sources led to finding a job for the JFC members although some slight variation was found. In the short term and at follow-up mid-age men were more successful finding a job by cold calls or contacting the employer directly. Newspapers yielded a higher percentage of leads for successful employment for mid-age women and for older women in the longer term. More clerical and service jobs may be advertised in the newspaper and these tended to be the type of jobs women found. Personal contacts resulted in more jobs among the older men. While a number of studies were limited to type and frequency of job searching methods used (Clemenson, 1987; Hasan & Gera, 1982; Schellenberg, 1994), those that reported success of the methods consistently rated either cold calls or personal contacts as the two methods with the highest success rate for older workers (Gower, 1975; Grayson, 1985; Westergaard, et al., 1989).

The Importance of Labour Market Conditions

Most studies on unemployment stress the importance of labour market conditions, especially local labour market conditions, as critical contextual factors to consider in how the workers fare with re-employment (Haughton, et al., 1993). Different groups of workers do better under different conditions. If labour markets are more restrictive disadvantaged groups may have more problems getting a job. Perrucci, Perrucci and Targ (1997) found that displaced women did poorer in recessionary periods, such as, occurred in the early 1980s as compared with when the economy was expanding towards the end of the decade. Likewise, Mackay and Jones (1989) suggest that when labour market are "distressed", employers will have a different set of selection criteria for who is displaced, and these authors single out older men as being particularly vulnerable. They suggest, as well, that these same employers have different criteria for who will be hired if jobs are available.

These are certainly well known phenomena. We see overall unemployment rates going up in a period of recession with participation rates going down as occurred in the depression of the 1930s and other recessions since then. Shaw (1987) suggests that women may even withdraw to a greater degree than men in periods of economic recession. However, in periods of economic expansion, generally we see the unemployment rate go down and participation rates go up, but variation as to how various worker groups are affected may occur. Changes occurred in the labour market indicators during the study, and as was noted in the previous chapter there was a recession which began in March 1990 and ended mid-1992. This event allowed for an examination of these groups of older workers during a better and poorer economic climate. The fifth research questions was: What is the importance of local labour market conditions to the re-employment of older workers in a labour market adjustment program such as a JFC? Do they affect men and women differently? Table 4-17 shows differences in re-employment success at the two periods studied by age and gender and key labour market indicators by year.

Mid-age men had the highest re-employment success in 1990 while the other three age and gender groups were most successful in 1989. The year 1989 had the most favourable labour market conditions on a number of indicators as seen in the table. The total unemployment rate was only marginally higher (0.4%) than 1990.

Table 4-17: Re-employment Success at End of JFC and at the Three Month Follow-up by Age and Gender and Key Labour Market Indicators by Year

Year: Indicator	Mid-age men 45-54 (*n* = 246) %	Mid-age women 45-54 (*n* = 200) %	Older men 55-64 (*n* = 116) %	Older women 55-64 (*n* = 74) %
1989: Employment success [1]				
End JFC	44.2	58.7	48.1	86.7
Three months Follow-up	82.7	88.9	81.5	86.7
Labour Market Indicator				
Total participation rate	72.9	72.9	72.9	72.9
Age-group participation rate [2]	64.2	42.9	64.2	42.9
Total unemployment rate	8.3	8.3	8.3	8.3
Age-group unemployment rate [2]	5.4	8.5	5.4	8.5
Help-wanted index	173	173	173	173
1990: Employment success				
End JFC	50.0	45.5	36.0	42.1
Three months Follow-up	87.2	81.3	72.7	73.7
Labour Market Indicator				
Total participation rate	71.4	71.4	71.4	71.4
Age-group participation rate	60.6	42.0	60.6	42.0
Total unemployment rate	7.9	7.9	7.9	7.9
Age-group unemployment rate	5.8	6.6	5.8	6.6
Help-wanted index	162	162	162	162
1991: Employment success				
End JFC	22.5	48.3	34.8	42.1
Three months Follow-up	71.8	78.9	56.5	70.6
Labour Market Indicator				
Total participation rate	72.0	72.0	72.0	72.0
Age-group participation rate	62.2	40.9	62.2	40.9
Total unemployment rate	9.5	9.5	9.5	9.5
Age-group unemployment rate	7.9	5.7	7.9	5.7
Help-wanted index	100	100	100	100

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[1] One group from Nov-Dec 1988 included in this year.

[2] The age grouping is 45-64 years.

Table 4-17 (continued): Re-employment Success at End of JFC and at the Three Month Follow-up by Age and Gender and Key Labour Market Indicators by Year

Year: Indicator	Mid-age men 45-54 (*n* = 246) %	Mid-age women 45-54 (*n* = 200) %	Older men 55-64 (*n* = 116) %	Older women 55-64 (*n* = 74) %
1992: Employment success				
End JFC	29.6	46.0	26.8	33.3
Three months Follow-up	61.3	68.9	57.5	68.4
Labour Market Indicator				
Total participation rate	74.5	74.5	74.5	74.5
Age-group participation rate	64.1	47.6	64.1	47.6
Total unemployment rate	11.0	11.0	11.0	11.0
Age-group unemployment rate	9.7	6.4	9.7	6.4
Help-wanted index	77	77	77	77

[1] One group from Nov-Dec 1988 included in this year.
[2] The age grouping is 45-64 years
[3] See p. for how calculated and reported

According to labour market segmentation theory in these labour market conditions one would expect the more disadvantaged[2] groups to do better and that is exactly what happened. The more advantaged group, in this case mid-age men, would also do well and this is evident.

The year 1990 had slightly tighter labour market conditions and these conditions would be predicted to favour a more advantaged group which was what happened. Employment success was only slightly poorer for older men in 1992 and for the other three age and gender groups in 1991. In 1992 labour market conditions were more favourable for all indicators except the unemployment rate, however, compared with 1989 and 1990 labour market conditions had deteriorated with the recession. The higher unemployment rate in 1992 no doubt made re-employment prospects more difficult for all the workers.

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[2] Disadvantaged and advantaged groups used here are relative terms. They refer to assessment of the various groups and not to what occurred in this study. Mid-age men are described as 'advantaged' because of their close resemblance to 'prime-age' men in the labour market.

Looking at the employment by industries and occupations (See Tables 3-5 and 3-6) perhaps offers some explanation. Industries which suffered a decline in employment for the local market in 1991 were manufacturing, trade, finance, insurance and real estate, and primary industries. As can be seen from the annual percentage change of businesses in the labour market (Table 3-7) from 1991 to 1992 the greatest net losses were found in transportation and communication, financial, and primary industries.

Occupations where jobs were lost in 1991 were clerical, sales, processing, machining and fabricating, transportation and equipment operating and material handling and other crafts. With the exception of clerical these were all occupations and industries where a number of the older men had been working. In 1992 jobs were lost in occupations in management and other professions, service, primary industry, processing, machining and fabricating, and construction and trades and industries such as construction, trade, public administration, and primary industries affecting a number of all workers attending the JFC.

Summary: Importance of Local Labour Market Conditions

The fifth research question asked what were the importance of local labour market conditions to the re-employment success for the men and women attending the JFC. The argument of this study is that although age and gender make a difference in the labour market particularly among workers 45 years and older who are searching for work, structural factors, such as, the labour market contribute to a how successful these individuals are in finding re-employment. Additionally, in different labour market conditions the outcome for the various groups may be different.

The year, 1989, having a higher re-employment rate for three of the age and gender groups suggests the importance of labour market conditions which a number of other authors imply are very important (Hiscott, 1991; Kumar, 1991; Sandell & Baldwin, 1990). As Kumar (1991) indicated, "the Canadian economy is highly regionalized and diverse" (p. 4) and it is these regional differences and diversities that may account for most of the variation in re-employment and explain why a particular group of workers do relatively well in one region and not in another at any given time. Local labour market conditions show temporal patterns and reflect both "good" and "bad" economic times in the region and these influence re-employment as was noted in the study.

The study covered the period from November 1988 to December 1993 and labour market conditions fluctuated during these years. Looking at most labour market indicators the year 1989 was the best year for employment in the local labour market, especially for men. The participation rate was high for all workers 15 years and over and for men 45 years and older. The number of UI claims usually a good predictor of labour market conditions was the lowest of the different years studied particularly for mid-age and older men. The year also had the highest help-wanted index, another good predictor of favourable labour market conditions, suggesting employers had jobs to fill and were actively looking for employees.

From mid-1990 to mid-1992 a recession occurred and this affected labour market conditions. The result was that this period was a more difficult time for re-employment for all older workers, although there were some differences noted. During the recession overall participation rates decreased and unemployment rates went up for older workers. In 1990 employment was down in a number of industries. The average number of help-wanted ads remained high but with the beginning of the recession they showed a decrease and this trend continued for the next few years. Many businesses in 1991, with the exception of services, reported a loss in number and this year, generally, had poor labour market conditions.

Mid-age men did best in 1990 despite the overall poor labour market conditions, however, labour market conditions were somewhat more favourable for this group. All other age and gender groups had the best re-employment success in 1989 when overall labour market conditions were more favourable. The most difficult years for re-employment, in that they resulted in the lowest success for JFC members in finding a job, were 1991 and 1992 when overall labour market conditions were the poorest because of the recessionary period.

Summary

The findings from this part of the study certainly support what Leonard Marsh (1940) observed a number of years ago about the situation of the older worker. It is quite complex. However, it is important to look at some of these complexities and what they may tell us about the older worker who is searching for work and the type of re-employment they may find. The findings do demonstrate some variation both in the type of older male and female worker who finds him- or herself at a JFC and what their outcome may be. They also suggest that when mid-age and older workers become re-employed they increase their employment in jobs of a more secondary nature. Age and gender are important factors in this process.

It is evident that the men and women who attended the JFC program are different in their background characteristics, both socio-demographic and occupational characteristics. Workers who were once thought of as having good prospects for employment, i.e., mid-age and highly educated males are now finding themselves among the hard-to-employ. The men are generally well educated and come from better paying jobs than their female counterparts, however, as would be expected there are some exceptions to both of these generalizations. The men were also more likely to have a spouse or partner but both mid-age men and women had more dependents than those in the older age groups. Almost 70% of the men came from occupations which were at the level of technical, paraprofessional, and skilled occupations or higher in contrast to around 40% of the mid-age women and just over half of the older women which indicates the men were from more skilled jobs. It was during this period that a number of skilled jobs were lost in the local labour market through the economic restructuring of a number of businesses and the government. It was likely that a number of men were attending the JFC because they had lost their job. More women might have been referred because they were re-entering the labour market after a period of absence, particularly, a group of the mid-age women who had a high average time of weeks not working and higher than average weeks looking for work.

Job finding success also varied among the participants with women at least finding a job quicker than the men. Whether this was because they accepted employment more readily, were more flexible in the type of job they would accept, or that the JFC program worked better for them are possible explanations and these will be explored in greater depth in the following chapters. What was noticeable about changes in skill level was that mid-age men seemed to have less loss of management jobs at three months than the other age and gender groups, and all but older women had no loss of jobs in professional occupations. It was clear from the educational qualifications that a number of the people at the JFC were underemployed in their last job and they continued in this pattern with their new jobs. All age and gender groups increased their percentage of employment in intermediate skill level occupations, mainly in jobs in sales and service. The year that the JFC participants were searching for work was consequential suggesting that local labour markets conditions and what was happening with employment were important.

Deskilling did occur among some of the older workers who found a job. They were employed in an occupation with a skill level lower than that of their previous job. An insight from this study not usually present in other studies that have reported on deskilling, is that for some of the workers the deskilling appeared to be by choice. These participants had as an occupational goal with a skill level lower than the job they had just lost or left.

Furthermore, in the logistic regression model to predict deskilling versus no deskilling taking place, the odds of deskilling taking place upon re-employment were significantly higher if the JFC participant were willing to change skill levels.

Average salary went down for all those re-employed, however, what was most marked among the workers was the number who reported going from an annual salary to an hourly wage or a commission. A few of the participants, particularly those re-employed in sales, received a combination of minimum hourly wage plus a commission so it would be difficult to say if they were better or worse financially than a previous job, unless they had been receiving a good annual salary in their last job. Of course what is not measured here is the number of JFC participants who lost other type of benefits with their job such as pension and vacation. When older workers find a job that is temporary or part-time, frequently the quality of their job goes down as well (McDonald & Wanner, 1992). In addition to these factors what was not evident in the data presented in this chapter are some of the other personal experiences and social factors that affect older workers in their search for a job. A number of these will be explored in the following chapter.

CHAPTER 5

FINDINGS: SOCIAL FACTORS AND RE-EMPLOYMENT

> *We are a diverse bunch. Fifteen in all. And we are assembled here this sunny spring morning because Canada Employment Centre thinks we need this service to help us in our job search. Some of us came voluntarily; others came under threat of losing their UIC benefits.*
>
> D. Dennis (1995)
> *The job finding club . . . no joy luck club*, p. A. 9.

Participants in a Job Finding Club (JFC), as noted in the previous chapter, are not homogeneous in their composition nor are they necessarily similar in their motivation for taking part in the club. The author of the newspaper article cited above goes on to describe her fellow job-searchers and some of their experiences during the three weeks they were attending the JFC. One of the greatest changes she sees is how the economy, and especially the job market has changed between when she first looked for work, and now as an older worker when she is trying to become re-employed. As another member in her JFC observes, "My mother doesn't understand why I'm still not working, she says, I used to go for an interview and have a job the next day. We remind her that was 17 years ago" (Dennis, 1995, p. A. 9). There are many changes noted by these older workers in the 1990s which affect their attempts to become re-employed.

The purpose of this study is not only to examine older worker's re-employment but also to explore their experiences in trying to find a job. It is an attempt to understand these experiences in a way that could not be studied by looking at whether the person finds a job, or not, or what kind of job they find. The intent is to capture the older worker's situation from their point of view; as reflected in their responses to a structured interview. A selected group of older workers attending the JFC were interviewed about a wide range of social factors which might impinge on their re-employment success. This chapter supplements the re-employment findings and addresses the research question: What are the social consequences of being unemployed and searching for work for older workers? Do they differ by age and gender? It is a summary of the findings from the interviews with a sample of 57 older workers attending the JFC. One of the limitations of this part of the study is that the participants were a non-random sample of individuals who had attended or were attending the JFC, and as a consequence, this chapter is limited to being descriptive of their situation.

Profiles of Selected Mid-Age and Older Workers

Each older worker interviewed forms a profile of a "typical" individual who comes to the JFC for assistance in finding employment. A profile of one each of a mid-age man, mid-age woman, older man, and older women is selected and presented below, to get a better picture of the some of the participants who attended the JFC and who were selected for the interviews.

> CASE #1: A mid-age male worker. Mr. W. is 45 years old and married. He lives with his 34 year old wife, 8 year old daughter, and 6 year old son. He has 13 years of formal education having completed high school. At present he does not have a paid job and has been actively searching for work for the past four months. He completed one JFC program and continues to contact employers in the hope of finding a job. He also continues to contact the UIC office for job leads. Although he would not move or take any job to become re-employed, he is willing to change careers even if it involves retraining. His spouse works full-time and her salary is supplemented by his unemployment insurance benefits, family allowance, and savings and investments. Household salary is >$60,000 and they live in their own home.
>
> In his most recent job, which lasted two years, Mr. W. was a full-time employee as a retail trades supervisor in a small wholesale company selling hardware, plumbing, and heating supplies. It was a non-unionized company of less than 20 employees. He lost his job without any advance notice. High school completion was the usual qualification for the job, therefore, as a high school graduate Mr. W. felt he had the appropriate qualifications. During the two years he worked for this company he had no promotions, however, he reported receiving some on-the-job training. When his job ended the only compensation he received was unemployment insurance benefits. He started working when he was 19 years old and has worked 26 years. Within the last 10 years he has had a total of two full-time jobs with two job losses both resulting in a period of unemployment.

The job he held five years ago was a retail trades supervisor but it was not the same position as he most recently lost.

Mr. W. had hoped to retire at age 60 but feels now that it will more likely be 65 as this period of unemployment has forced him to use some of his savings. He is not sure how his last employer would define an older worker nor does he know how he would define one in his occupation, i.e., in sales, but he feels 'young'.

CASE #2: A mid-age female worker. Mrs. X. is 48 years old and lives with her 44 year old husband, who works full-time, as well as with her 22 year old son. They own their own home and have a household income between $40,000. - 59,999. She is receiving unemployment insurance benefits supplemented by her spouse's employment and their savings. Like, Mr. W. she has completed high school, but has already begun to upgrade her skills by taking a computer course. She has been searching for work for just over a year and apart from attending the JFC, keeps in touch with the UIC offices. Even though she is somewhat selective in her career choice she would take a job in other than her usual occupation even if retraining were required but would not be willing to relocate. She has already moved once in her search for work.

Her last job was a parts clerk in an electrical products retail business where she worked full-time for nine years until a staff reduction occurred. It was a non-unionized company employing less than 100 employees. There was no advance notice of job loss, however, when her job ended she received severance pay and unemployment insurance. During the nine years working for the company she had one promotion. Although the job was closely related to her educational level, high school, she felt overqualified because she had taken upgrading courses and these had not been recognized. Like Mr W. above Mrs. X has worked since she was 19 years old and has worked for 29 years. In the last 10 years she has had two full-time jobs and one job loss, resulting in a period of unemployment. Five years ago she was employed in the job she recently lost.

She feels her stated age. She thinks that in her occupation an older worker is someone 45 years and older but doesn't know how her last employer would define an older worker. She thinks she would like to retire at age 55, however, she is unsure when she will retire, although she says her current unemployment has not affected her retirement plans.

CASE #3: An older male worker. Mr. Y is 63 years old and lives with his 50 year old wife, who does not have paid employment. They have their own home. Household income is <$20,000. His unemployment insurance benefits are presently being supplemented by his savings and investments. He has not completed high school having only nine years of formal education. For the past eight months he has been searching for work mainly through the use of job advertisements. At the time of the interview he was attending the JFC. He is fairly flexible in the job he would take and is willing to retrain but he does not want to move.

In his last job he was a construction supervisor with a building and contracting company which employed between 21 to 99 people. His particular job was non-unionized. He had worked full time but lost his job when the company downsized by reducing the number of staff. He did get a two week advance notice. He felt this job was in keeping with his education and experience.

His work career spans 39 years consisting of two full-time jobs in the last 10 years. This is his first time being unemployed during that period. Five years ago he had the same type of work as his last job but it was not the same job. Mr. Y. would like to retire at age 65 and feels that is when he will actually retire. Even though he says his age of retirement may not have changed, he thinks his recent unemployment has adversely affected his retirement plans because not only is he unable to save money but he has had to use his savings. He feels "young" but thinks in the construction industry an older worker is someone who is 60 years or older. He feels his last employer would say 55 years or older.

CASE #4: An older female worker. Mrs. Z is 60 years old and divorced. She lives alone and owns her home. She has 16 years of formal education having completed a university degree. Her income is between $40,000. - 59,999. and comes from unemployment insurance benefits, retirement benefits, and investments. For the past six months she has been searching for work and more recently has attended the JFC. She also had a career assessment done and continues to look at job ads and check with the UIC office for jobs. She is willing to retrain for a job and would like to change her career but is not willing to relocate.

She had been employed as an elementary school teacher for the past 41 years. In her most recent teaching position she taught full-time for 13 years until poor health forced her to resign. Her job was unionized and she took part in continuing education but had no promotions in the job. When she quit she received early retirement provisions and unemployment insurance benefits. She does not think being unemployed has affected her retirement plans because she doesn't "ever want to retire" and has no idea when she will retire. Right now she feels "young". She believes an elementary school teacher is thought of as an older worker at 50 years of age and believes her last employer would define an older worker as 55 years or older.

The above profiles show that these workers do not seem to be at particular risk for finding a job. Most of them have fairly steady work histories and they do not appear to fit a number of the stereotypes of older workers. They seem flexible in their approach to job finding, although none of them favour moving in their search for work. Many were affected by economic changes affecting their workplace. The fact they were displaced from a job could be their greatest labour market risk. While the profiles do not suggest particular difficulty for re-employment, all of these workers were experiencing a problem with re-employment and had come to the JFC for assistance. The next section contains the characteristics of the older workers who were interviewed.

Characteristics of Participants

The 57 participants are divided into four groups; mid-age men 44-54 years (*n* = 24, 42.1%) older men 55-65 years (*n* = 11, 19.3%), mid-age women 44-54 years (*n* = 13, 22.8%), and older women 55-65 years (*n* = 9, 15.8%). Table 5-1 shows the characteristics of the participants. Compared with the 636 JFC members presented in the previous chapter, there is a higher proportion of mid-age men (42.1% vs. 38.7%), smaller proportion of mid-age women (22.8% vs. 31.5%), slightly higher percentage of older men (19.3% vs. 18.2%), and older women (15.8% vs. 11.6%). Mean ages are fairly similar, 52.1 years (*SD* = 5.9) for this group as compared with 51.6 years (*SD* = 4.9) for the 636 workers.

Although it is difficult to compare most of the characteristics of the two groups because of the way the information was collected, apart from the mid-age men, this group interviewed have lower educational levels. However, in comparison with the previous group some trends are evident, women more frequently than men have less than high school as their highest educational level, while mid-age men more frequently report a university education. As with the first group women tend to more frequently come from lower paid jobs than men. A higher percentage of the 57 participants are receiving unemployment insurance than the first group. Some characteristics were known for this group only, and therefore, cannot be compared with the 636 JFC members. Among those with a spouse or partner present, 55.9% of these spouses work full-time, 20.6% work part-time, and there was one retired spouse. Home ownership was fairly high but it would be expected to be higher in these age groups than among younger age groups.

Table 5-1: Characteristics of Participants by Age and Gender

Characteristic	Mid-age men 44-54 (n = 24) %	Mid-age women 45-54 (n = 13) %	Older men 55-65 (n = 11) %	Older women 55-65 (n = 9) %
Spouse/Partner				
No	25.0	30.8	36.4	100.0
Yes	75.0	69.2	63.6	--
Children in household				
No	33.3	61.5	72.7	77.8
Yes	66.7	38.5	27.3	22.2
Education				
Less than high school	16.7	46.2	18.2	44.4
Completed high school	29.2	30.8	36.4	11.1
Vocational/technical/ college	12.5	7.7	18.2	11.1
University	42.1	15.4	27.3	33.3
Home				
Own	50.0	69.2	81.8	44.4
Rent	50.0	30.8	18.2	55.6
Individual income				
>$20,000.	45.8	83.3	50.0	77.8
$20,000-39,999.	50.0	16.7	50.0	11.1
$40,000-59,999.	4.2	--	--	11.1
Source of income while unemployed[a]				
Unemployment insurance	91.7	91.7[b]	81.8	100.0
Social assistance	8.3	8.3	--	11.1
Savings	58.3	33.3	54.5	66.7
Investments	25.0	8.3	36.4	55.6
Family members	50.0	25.0	27.3	11.1
Retirement Pension	4.2	27.3	--	44.4
Other[c]	58.3	25.0	--	--

[a] Percentage >100 because participants report more than one source of income. [b] One response is missing. [c] Sources such as family allowance and worker's compensation are included under this category.

Almost 60% of the respondents own their own homes and this is higher among older men and mid-age women. Home ownership is lowest among older women. Mid-age men are as likely to own their homes as not.

Most of the participants had a number of sources of income while they were unemployed but all groups report unemployment insurance as the main source of income at this time. The majority of referrals to the JFC are from Canada Employment Centres so this would be an expected finding. The second most frequently reported source of income is savings, particularly among the older men. If those dependent on savings for income are combined with those who used their investments as a source of income, then it is evident that many mid-age and older workers are using financial resources that are probably meant to supplement their future retirement income as some of the workers profiled above indicate they are doing.

Current employment status. Eleven (19.3%) participants had already found employment at the time of the interview; five mid-age men and two of each in the other three age and gender groups, however, only two of the jobs are full-time; one mid-age man and one mid-age woman. Moving from full-time to a part-time job when re-employed is a fairly common outcome for older workers both in Canada and the U.S. (Golden, 1992; McDonald & Wanner, 1992). Seven of those employed are involuntary part-time workers who prefer a full-time job if one were available, and they do not consider themselves ideally employed. Additionally, eight of the jobs are permanent, two temporary, and one person is self-employed. Just over half (54.5%) of the jobs are in other than the subject's usual occupation, although participants were not asked if this were by choice or not. Mid-age men were slightly more likely to find a job in their usual occupation but not if they came from a management position. The remainder (80.7%) did not have a job and are actively searching for work. Six of the participants who said they have a part-time job are also actively searching for work.

Previous Employment

Previous employment was explored with the respondents in order to examine what has been happening to them during their recent years in employment. As labour market segmentation may not be limited to re-employment, but may begin to occur earlier these questions were explored to look at the stability of past employment and what might have affected that stability. Table 5-2 shows aspects of their previous employment, such as mean number of years worked, tenure in years of last job, and number of promotions. Job stability is not always a matter of individual choice as the findings from these interviews in this study demonstrate. Furthermore there are frequently age and gender differences and this was evident among these workers.

In this study and similar to what Johnson, Dickinson and West (1987) noted among their displaced older workers, women were the most stable group on almost all measurements. They had fewer full- and part-time jobs, fewer jobs lost, and fewer periods of unemployment. On average older men have worked the longest and mid-age women the shortest lengths of time. Older women had the longest job tenure of last job, while older men had the shortest last job tenure of the age and gender groups, suggesting a great deal of discontinuity and instability in the their employment history in recent years.

This finding on job instability concurs with the findings of Heisz (1996) who reported that during the period from 1981 to 1994, older workers had the largest decline in tenure of a new job. During that period he found the decline in new jobs lasting more than 12 months was greater for those 55-64 years than those 45-54 years but he did not have a breakdown by gender. Among the respondents, mid-age women have the second shortest job tenure for last job. Participants were asked about the number of job promotions they had in their last job. Not many of the participants had been promoted in their last job, only 21.1% said they had any. The number of promotions ranged between one and five.

Table 5-2: Comparison of Means of Past Employment Characteristics Reported for all Participants and by Age and Gender Groups

Characteristic	MEAN	*SD*	*N*
Years worked			
Total group	29.91	10.41	57
Mid-age men	27.38	9.34	24
Mid-age women	26.15	8.53	13
Older men	39.36	4.23	11
Older women	30.56	14.51	9
Tenure of last job			
Total group	5.40	6.70	57
Mid-age men	5.50	7.96	24
Mid-age women	3.77	3.90	13
Older men	2.91	3.99	11
Older women	10.56	6.80	9
Number of promotions last job			
Total group	.44	1.05	57
Mid-age men	.17	.64	24
Mid-age women	.54	1.39	13
Older men	.73	1.27	11
Older women	.67	1.19	9

This finding perhaps relates to the short tenures of many of the subject's last job and, therefore, may be only indirectly related to aging and promotions. However, the influence of age and gender on promotion at work cannot be ruled out on the basis of the information presented. Peterson and Spilerman (1990) did find that the age the individual is when they enter a job does effect promotions; the older the worker the fewer the promotions. Whatever measure is used, a trend noted among all these 57 workers is a lack of stable employment.

Employment History Past Ten Years

When we consider older workers we tend to think of a group who are in a relatively stable working situation, or at least had been somewhat protected in their job tenure (Doeringer, et al., 1991). A stereotype of the older worker is that they have found their niche in a particular job or organization and are unlikely to change jobs because it would threaten their pension provisions. Longer job tenure is positively associated with increasing age and many collective agreements have clauses which protect older workers who have long job tenures. Of the collective agreements in Canada in 1991 there were 77.3% of all collective agreements with a seniority on layoff clause (Kumar, et al., 1991). Ross and Shillington (1991) in their study of labour market transitions found the 55-64 year old group had the lowest percentage of job transitions at 25.4% for the period 1986-87.

In order to explore these older worker's employment stability, the last ten years of the participant's employment history were explored as it is believed recall of this time frame might be easier than having the person recall their total work history. It also gives a common time frame within which to compare the employment histories of all of the participants, as well the approach allows for consideration of common broad labour market conditions. Table 5-3 shows the average number of full- and part-time jobs, number of jobs lost, periods of unemployment, and other job interruptions. The latter would include sick leave, child care, and leave for other responsibilities, although the exact nature was not explored.

Most of the participants report between none and 6 jobs, with two mid-age men having no full-time jobs, in the past ten years. The majority, 61.2%, had two or fewer full-time jobs. The number of part-time jobs varies more than that of full-time jobs, between none and 30; the latter reflects a causal labourer who seems to have worked in part-time jobs exclusively for the past ten years and is no doubt the type of worker who may frequently end up in a program like a JFC. Almost half of the participants, 49%, had a combination of both full- and part-time jobs.

Table 5-3: Comparison of Mean Number of Jobs and Number of Job Interruptions in Past Ten Years for all Participants and by Age and gender Groups

	Mean	SD	N
Full-time jobs:			
Total group	2.33	1.41	49
Mid-age men	2.30	1.45	20
Mid-age women	3.00	1.79	11
Older men	2.36	.92	11
Older women	1.29	.49	7
Part-time jobs:			
Total group	1.60	4.41	48
Mid-age men	2.05	6.80	19
Mid-age women	1.45	1.57	11
Older men	1.45	2.11	11
Older women	.86	.90	9
Jobs lost:			
Total group	1.93	2.98	48
Mid-age men	2.30	4.33	20
Mid-age women	2.09	1.81	11
Older men	1.90	1.10	10
Older women	.71	.76	7
Periods of unemployment:			
Total group	2.15	2.86	48
Mid-age men	2.74	4.25	19
Mid-age women	2.09	1.81	11
Older men	1.73	1.27	11
Older women	1.29	.49	7
Other job interruptions:			
Total group	.84	2.14	49
Mid-age men	.55	1.19	20
Mid-age women	2.09	4.09	11
Older men	.27	.47	11
Older women	.57	.53	7

Mid-age women had the largest mean number of full-time jobs and older women had the smallest in keeping with the greater average job tenure of the older women noted above. Job losses also varied between none and 20, with 20.4% reporting no job losses, and a further 65.3% having lost between one and two jobs in the past decade. Participants lost or quit their previous jobs for a variety of reasons, from conflict at work to wanting a career change. Mid-age men have the greatest number of job losses and older women the least. A second question on job change was whether or not the job that the participants lost or quit prior to coming to the JFC is the same job that they held five years ago. Of the 54 workers responding to this question 15 (27.8%) said yes; 21.7% of mid-age men, 30.8% of mid-age women, 20% of older men and 50% of older women. Mid-age women exhibited the most variability in their employment history with the highest mean number of full-time jobs in the last ten years. They were equal to older men in the mean number of part-time jobs held in that period.

While the mean number of unemployment periods was not much different than the other groups, mid-age women had a much higher mean number of other job interruptions, suggesting they took time out of the labour market for reasons other than loss of a job. Even though women in this age group more frequently have caregiving demands by parents this did not seem to explain this particular finding. In fact in looking at caregiving responsibilities, more mid-age men replied they were providing care or sharing the care for an elderly or dependent person than any of the other age and gender groups, but it might have been child care over the last ten years, that caused the mid-age women's job interruptions. Mid-age and older women were much more apt to be single parents in the past than the men, although only one mid-age woman and mid-age man were currently single parents. Job mobility and disruptions are highly dependent upon life course events, however, frequently the two areas are not studied together (Rosenfeld, 1992). Nevertheless, certain groups of older workers may have more job interruptions than others.

Lauzon (OPTIONS 45+, 1996c) found a great deal of instability among displaced older workers when the last ten years of their employment were studied, however, the cause of this instability was not described.

Characteristics of last job. What kinds of jobs did the respondent's lose or quit? Questions were asked about firm size, occupation, and industry. Most of the participants came from small firms; 42.1% with less than 20 employees at their last place of work while a further 33.3% worked in firms with between 21 and 99 employees. Only 16.7% of mid-age men and 22.2% of older women came from a large firm with more than 500 employees. The majority of participants interviewed were attending the JFC because of job loss and this was especially the situation for older men. These job losses were mainly due to a reduction or downsizing of the workforce. The finding is expected, in Canada in 1992 losing a job was a significantly more important cause of unemployment for workers over 45 years than quitting a job; 81% of the unemployed in that age group lost a job compared with the 19% who quit a job. The quit rate declines with age and at 2.4% is lowest among persons 55 to 64 years as compared with other age groups (Picot & Baldwin, 1990). Most of the workers who lost jobs in Canada came from small companies with less than 20 employees. Picot and Dupuy (1996) who studied job gains and losses in Canadian companies by size concluded, "job gain and job loss, as well as net employment gain are disproportionately located in the small firm sector, no matter which measure of sizing is used, and whether it is evaluated in the short or long run" (p. 32).

Most of the jobs lost or quit were non-unionized employment (89.5%). The only two worker groups, with any individuals in unionized positions are older women (33.3%) and mid-age men (12.5%). It might be that this finding partially explains the longer average job tenures of older women as frequently unions are protective of older workers' jobs. Status of last job was fairly similar for all participants in that 93% worked in a full time job, with the remaining 7% in part-time jobs. The latter includes all age and gender groups with the exception of mid-age women who held full-time work exclusively.

Previous occupations are recorded using the National Occupational Classification (NOC) system described under methodology and used in the previous chapter, permitting the jobs to be classified according to skill level and type. Table 5-4 shows the skill level and skill type of the last job that the participants held by age and gender. Only a small percentage of mid-age men came from a management position, the highest single percentage of these workers are from skill level C or intermediate occupations. By far the greatest percentage of older men and mid-age women interviewed came from skill level B or technical, paraprofessional and skilled occupations. Older women have a different pattern of skill levels and the largest percentage are just as likely to come from skill level A or professional occupations as D or labouring and elemental occupations. Variation by skill type and industry is fairly wide for most groups except for mid-age women, who came from business, finance, and administrative group, sales and service group, or social science, education or related occupations group, in that order. Although found in most occupational types, the greatest percentage of older men came from the trades, transport and equipment operators and related occupations group. Mid-age men are scattered throughout all skill types with the exception of primary industries; none of the 24 workers came from that occupational grouping.

Comparing this group of participants to the 636 JFC members a smaller percentage have been in management positions and more come from professional occupations. More mid-age women and older men were employed at the paraprofessional level and less come from intermediate occupations. As far as skill type is concerned a much smaller percentage come from business, finance and administrative positions. Fewer men come from sales and services, but certainly more women did.

Table 5-4: Skill Level and Skill Type of Previous Job by Age and Gender

Skill	Mid-age men 44-54 (n = 24) %	Mid-age women 44-54 (n = 13) %	Older men 55-65 (n = 11) %	Older women 55-65 (n = 9) %
Skill level				
Management	4.2	--	--	--
Skill level A	29.2	7.7	18.2	33.3
Skill level B	20.8	69.2	63.6	11.1
Skill level C	37.5	15.4	18.2	22.2
Skill level D	8.3	7.7	--	33.3
Skill type				
Business, finance, &administration	20.8	46.2	9.1	22.2
Natural & applied sciences	12.5	--	9.1	22.2
Health occupations	4.2	--	--	--
Social science & related fields	20.8	23.1	9.1	22.2
Art, culture, recreation, & sport	4.2	--	9.1	11.1
Sales & service	12.5	30.8	9.1	33.3
Trades & transportation	20.8	--	45.5	--
Primary industry	--	--	--	--
Processing, utilities & manufacturing	4.2	--	9.1	11.1

Worker-job match of previous job. One of the questions that was raised in the previous chapter was how well were participants matched by education and experience to their last job? A number of the 636 JFC participants had educational qualifications that were higher than what was required for their previous job but it was not possible to determine whether or not the workers themselves felt they were overqualified.

To examine this participants were asked, "How closely was your job related to your education?" and "Considering your experience, education and training, do you feel you were overqualified for your last job?" This of course is the subject's perception of these conditions and no attempt is made to compare the educational qualifications of the person against the required qualifications for the job. It would be impossible to factor in informal training and worker experience which could account for much of the differences in both perception and reality of how well the workers' felt their skills were matched with their previous job.

A number of older workers may qualify for a job on the basis of experience alone so looking at their educational qualifications may be somewhat misleading. Just over 50% of the respondents among all the age and gender groups, except older men, did feel that their educational qualifications were well matched to their job. Older men were much more positive in this regard as almost 75% felt there was a good match. This perhaps explains why a lower percentage of older men, as noted in the previous chapter, were looking for a job different from their previous job; they had found the type of job or occupation which they felt matched their skills.

For those who responded that they did not feel there was a good match between their job and educational qualifications it is not necessarily that they believed they were overqualified. In fact a number of the participants did not feel at all overqualified. Just 7.0% said that they felt "a little bit" overqualified, 22.8% rated themselves "moderately" so, 10.5% felt "quite a bit" overqualified, and 12.3% said they are "extremely" overqualified. Of the 26 participants saying they felt more than a little bit overqualified, 23 gave a reason why they felt so with the most frequent responses being "not required to use the experience they had" (34.6%) and feeling they were overeducated (30.8%) as the important factors. A number of workers in all groups felt that they did not make the best use of the experience that they had or that they were overeducated for the job they were doing. Given that a number of workers in the larger group of participants in the JFC found new jobs at a lower skill level this problem is likely to become more acute upon re-employment and lead to greater job dissatisfaction.

Effects of technology on work. Technology is a factor cited in changing the workplace for older workers resulting in the displacement of this group (Beauchesne-Florival, 1990), however, among the workers interviewed technical change was not a major factor and certainly not necessarily a negative factor. Since the negative effects of technology on work is one of the reasons given for older worker's difficulty with employment and re-employment, one of the areas that this present research attempted to explore is how the older workers perceive the effects of technology on their work and if this could be a reason for difficulty with their work, or difficulty with re-employment. Specifically participants were asked how much the introduction of computers or automated technology affected their work. The past five years was used as the time explored to control for some of the technological changes that have been introduced over a longer period. Older women in particular did not seem to think their work had been affected very much. Not one in this group said "greatly", half said "somewhat", and 37.5% said "not at all". However of this group who felt their job had been affected, most believed the level of skill had increased and job security had definitely decreased.

Older men were split almost equally in terms of how many had their work affected greatly by technology and those who's work was not affected at all. Occupational differences would no doubt be a greater influence in this category. A fairly high percentage of older men came from skill level D, or labouring and elemental occupations, where technology would not be expected to make a great difference. If the introduction of computers and automated technology had been a factor in work, required skill levels were assessed by the participants to have increased, but job security pretty well remained the same. Mid-age women and mid-age men were fairly similar in their responses and some felt there were great effects, some saw a few, others saw hardly any consequences, and a number did not see any at all. Those with changes in their work because of technology did need increased skill to do the job, and for a few, the security of their jobs decreased as a direct result, however, for most, job security was relatively unaffected.

Those participants who thought their work was affected were asked to describe in which way. Almost two-thirds, 65.5%, stated they had to make some readjustments with their paperwork, or a technical aspect of their job was computerized, and 34% said they had to become "computer literate" in order to do their work or aspects of their work. One person felt her/his job has become more time consuming because of the introduction of new technology. Others stated they learned how to use new software, learned advanced functioning of the computer, or that their skills became more "precise".

Even though the introduction of new technology, coupled with the myth that it is more difficult to teach older workers how to use this technology, is a reason given for displacement of older workers, most participants did not attribute their job insecurity to the introduction of new technology except for four participants who felt the introduction of that technology meant that less staff was required. Overall the participants who's work has been affected by the introduction of new technology report an increase in level of interest in their job, however, older women are more divided on this aspect with as many saying yes as no. Again this would perhaps be dependent upon the type of job that these women held and the aspects of their job that they valued. They did see both positive and negative aspects to the introduction of the technology. Some of the positive aspects of the new technology that workers reported are they learned new skills and felt they had new challenges, while the negative aspects are there was less work to do and work was "now boring".

The questions on the use of computers and automated technology in the workplace are those used in the 1989 General Social Survey (GSS). Lowe (1991) examined the results of these questions in the GSS covering the period 1984 to 1989. He looked mainly at skill level of occupations and to some extent region. Comparing the results of this group, with Lowe's findings for Alberta, similarities are noted regarding how work was affected, although, required level of skill was slightly increased for these older workers as compared with the GSS results. Perception of job security because of the introduction of computers was around the same with a slightly higher percentage of the older workers saying it had decreased. While mid-age and older women in this study did not think their work had become more interesting a greater percentage of men than in the GSS felt it had.

Perceived changes in work over the last five years. The interview schedule contains fourteen questions designed to measure perceived changes in jobs and work over the last five years. The participants reported a number of perceived changes in job demands, control, and satisfaction over the past five years. Job demands measured such items as amount of concentration required, introduction of new ways of doing things, requirement to take on extra tasks, amount of new learning required, amount of physical and mental energy required, and the amount of retraining required. Under job control were pace of work, possibility to select the order in which tasks were done, contacts with co-workers, and need to work overtime or bring work home. Satisfaction with job and opportunities for advancement were included under job satisfaction.

Although a great deal of variation was noted, reflecting a wide range of occupations and associated work requirements, generally items classified under job demands, with the exception of the amount of physical energy required to do the job, increased the most. For specific items most decreases were reported in opportunities for advancement (47.3%), contacts with co-workers (25.5%), and satisfaction with job (24.6%). "No change" is most frequently reported in the amount of retraining required (44.4%), possibility to select the order in which tasks are done (46.4%), and amount of physical energy required (42.1%). Areas of perceived greatest changes are amount of mental energy required (73.7%), number of things to remember (68.4%), and amount of concentration required (64.3%).

Examining the perceived changes in job demands, control, and satisfaction there was some variation by age and gender group. Among the four groups contact with co-workers is rated as decreasing the least for mid-age men. Mid-age women felt that the amount of new learning required to do their jobs decreased the most for them. The amount of physical energy required to do their jobs increased by a higher percentage for older women than any of the other groups. Although this is a small group, about a third came from jobs in sales and services; jobs which can be somewhat demanding in the amount of physical energy required. Other trends noticeable are a higher percentage of older women more likely to say job demands have increased, as far as the amount of concentration is required, introduction of new ways of doing things, requirements to take on extra tasks, and number of things to remember, however, older men more often reported the pace of their work was increased. Mid-age men reported the highest percentage of increases in job-satisfaction while mid age women had the lowest. Even though these changes were more "workplace dependent", than occupation dependent, they might account for why participants may or may not want to change occupations with re-employment. These findings may also indicate why a number of the participants among the 636 JFC participants had an occupational goal different than their previous occupation and why some of the participants, particularly the older women wanted a new job with a lower skill level. Despite the changes noted they were relatively satisfied with their jobs.

Reason for leaving job. The participants were asked the main reason they left their last job. This is one of the sources of data unavailable for the 636 JFC members. Job loss is the main reason as is found with most individuals in the older worker groups (Gera & Rahman, 1991a; 1991b). For 64.9% of all participants, (90.9% older men) the job termination is because of a job loss while 29.8% report that they quit their job. The remaining 5.3% are without work because they had been self-employed and their business failed. It was also evident among the larger group that some of the 636 participants had been self-employed and were looking to change that status.

The 37 workers who lost their job through a layoff were asked specifically why the layoff occurred. Most frequently, it was because of a reduction in staff at their workplace (42.4%) or their job was eliminated (15.2%). These are frequent occurrences with downsizing. In 12.2% of the cases the business folded and for the same percentage there was a work shortage. One person did not state a reason why he/she lost a job but for the remaining 15.2%, it was because they were in a temporary job and that job ended. Slightly over half of the 37 participants who lost a job, 54.1%, said they had advance notice that their job would end. This advance notice of termination was anywhere from one to 24 weeks with a mean of 4.40 weeks (SD 6.14). If these workers with advance notice began searching for work any earlier than those who did not have advance notice it did not seem to have an affect on outcome, as all ended up participating at the JFC.

Searching for Work: Social and Economic Factors

Social and economic aspects of life undergo major changes for unemployed workers and their families. One of the myths about older workers that was identified in the 1996 report by the Canadian Human Rights Commission is that older workers do not really need the work (Canadian Human Rights Commission, 1997). An outcome of this belief is that they may be discriminated against when searching for work. The individuals interviewed for this study could go a long way in dispelling that myth, i.e., that they had no need to work; many reported social and economic consequences with far reaching effects because of their unemployment and difficulty in finding a job.

Aspects of job searching were examined in greater depth with this group of participants than was possible through the records of the 636 JFC participants. Of the 57 individuals interviewed 52 (91.2%) are still searching for work as only five found jobs that they are satisfied with at the present time. Their reported length of job search has been anywhere from one month to five years. The long period of 5 years was a woman re-entering the labour market but who has been searching for only a short while. The mean number of months searching for work is 11.04 months (SD 10.70). The mean for mid-age women and older men are the highest at 13.85 (SD 14.4) and 13.82 (SD 11.81), next is mid-age men at 9.04 (SD 9.29) and last older women at 8.38 (SD 3.11).

Job Search Methods

Explorations of topics under job search are related to the different methods that the participants used, some of the challenges they experienced in this search, attitudes toward finding a job, and willingness to change occupations. A great deal of research on re-employment focuses on what may be classified as "objective" aspects of searching for work, such as, duration of searching, job searching methods, and successful job leads with less emphasis on some of the "subjective" aspects of this search, apart from some of the effects on health and well-being. There are a few exceptions to this as illustrated by Patrick Burman 's (1988) study *Killing Time, Losing Ground* and Ellen Rosen's (1987) study of women in *Bitter Choices* which do deal with subjective aspects of searching for work in the former study and changes in lifestyle in the latter. Both studies include older workers. One of the questions for this study was; was is it like to be an older worker searching for work?

Not all those interviewed were still active participants at the JFC although most of their attendance had been recent, therefore, they could be using other job finding methods than those required by the program. Instead this group pretty much stayed with the methods they had been taught to use by the JFC. Most of the participants reported using three or more different methods to look for a job, however, the mean number of methods reported is 3.33 (SD 1.25). Only 10.5% reported just one method while almost half, 49.1% reported using four or five different methods. The methods of job search are grouped into five different categories for descriptive purposes: looking at job advertisements; use of personal contacts through family, friends, and former co-workers; making direct approaches to companies; going to UIC offices; continuing use of the JFC; and "other", which include use of other job placement offices and listening to news for start-up or hirings by new companies.

Looking at job advertisements is most frequently reported for all workers except older women who reported using this method just as often as direct approach to companies. Job advertisements was by far the favoured search method for older men with 90.9% using that approach. The use of personal contacts is reported fairly often by all groups except older women. Older women among the 636 JFC members also reported the lowest average number of this particular job search method. This could reflect the fact that they have a smaller number of personal contacts who they feel might be in a position to assist them through this particular method. Going to the UIC office is mentioned by the lowest percentage of all the age and gender groups and this is consistent with a number of other studies. A small percentage keep in contact with the JFC, even though they no longer attend daily, to see if there are any job leads posted.

Apart from job searching methods participants were asked if they did anything else to increase their chances of re-employment. While 22.8% of the participants said they did nothing, others reported trying a variety of ways to improve their chances. Most frequently individuals took some type of a course or continuing education program (27.12%). Learning computer skills was the most common form of continuing education or retraining. Others mentioned changing their career choice or goals or going for career assessments. Changing career goals as a response was insightful as one of the questions which arose in the first part of the study is "do older workers have a career goal different from their last job, as a job finding strategy?"; the answer is some do. One woman reported that she moved and another said that she tried to improve her health status.

Problems Experienced While Searching For Work

There are a number of problems and challenges common to all unemployed workers searching for work and just as in other studies the experience of unemployment was difficult for these older workers. Participants were asked an open-ended question about the greatest challenge that they faced while unemployed and searching for work. This was done to see what they perceived to be their greatest challenge and it elicited a great deal of variation and insight into some of the concerns these unemployed older workers had. The most frequent single response, given by almost 30% of the men and women interviewed, was finding a "suitable" job. These participants recognized the challenge they faced in that area and the use of the word suitable suggested that they had specific criteria for their new job. The second most frequent response was surviving with less money (17.5%). Other challenges mentioned by four or fewer subjects were challenges, such as maintaining self-esteem and dealing with feelings of depression. Some of the problems they mentioned were also job-search related, for example, learning how to search for a job, facing discrimination in hiring, and the public's and employer's attitudes toward the unemployed. In addition, these mid-age and older workers faced a number of financial challenges, as some had to deal with cutting back on spending, their inability to make mortgage payments, and realizing there would be less money for their retirement fund.

Seven common problems/challenges of being unemployed were identified from the literature on unemployment and these were: 1) managing money; 2) finding a suitable job; 3) maintaining a job search; 4) uncertainty about the future; 5) keeping from being depressed; 6) not worrying; and, 7) dealing with people at unemployment and welfare offices. These issues were used as a basis for participants to report how serious a problem these specific challenges were for them while they were unemployed. Table 5-5 shows the problem rating by the age and gender groups on these specific challenges.

Table 5-5: Reported Problems While Unemployed by Age and Gender

How much are the following a problem?[1]	Mid-age men 44-54 (n = 24) %	Mid-age women 44-54 (n = 13) %	Older men 55-65 (n = 11) %	Older women 55-65 (n = 9) %
Managing money:				
No problem	29.2	30.8	45.5	33.3
Neutral	8.3	23.1	--	--
A problem	62.5	46.2	54.5	55.6
Finding a suitable job:				
No problem	8.3	--	--	--
Neutral	4.2	--	--	11.1
A problem	87.5	100.0	100.0	88.9
Keeping looking for a job:				
No problem	37.5	30.8	18.2	44.4
Neutral	20.8	15.4	18.2	11.1
A problem	41.7	53.8	63.6	44.4
Not knowing what is going to happen in the future:				
No problem	25.0	15.4	9.1	11.1
Neutral	12.5	--	18.2	44.4
A problem	62.5	84.6	72.7	44.4
Keeping from being depressed:				
No problem	29.2	46.2	10.0	22.2
Neutral	12.5	--	10.0	33.3
A problem	58.3	53.8	80.0	44.4
Stopping from worrying:				
No problem	29.2	30.8	18.2	22.2
Neutral	8.3	7.7	18.2	22.2
A problem	62.5	61.5	63.6	55.6
Dealing with people at unemployment and welfare offices:				
No problem	50.0	53.8	81.8	44.4
Neutral	20.8	15.4	--	--
A problem	29.2	30.8	18.2	55.6

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[1] Response format in the survey questionnaire was a seven point Likert scale from 'No problem at all' to 'A very great problem'. The table results above were collapsed from this format.

A number of participants had identified that they may not find a suitable job so not surprisingly, this item was rated as the most problematic, followed by uncertainty of the future, and stopping from worrying. Mid-age women seemed to express greater uncertainty or not knowing what would happen in the future. Dealing with people at unemployment and welfare offices was rated, overall, as the least problematic and a number of participants had little or no contact with these agencies. Older women who were more likely to be receiving social assistance said this was a problem for them.

A high percentage of the older men said keeping from being depressed was a great problem for them and these were the group among the 636 JFC members who had the poorest re-employment chances. They did realize that their prospects for re-employment were less good than some of the others, consequently, they could not help from feeling depressed about this situation. While almost all the participants had to try and stop from worrying, the older men appeared to internalize their worry more and express it in the form of depression.

Financial situation. Many respondents had been out of work for awhile or had a fair amount of discontinuity in employment over the past ten years, therefore, it would be expected that their financial situation would be adversely affected. As a number of those interviewed indicated, some of the financial problems that they faced while unemployed were managing money and surviving with less money. Compared with other studies of those who lost jobs (Perrucci, et al., 1997; Rosen, 1987), these participants also experienced a number of cutbacks in spending on various items. Entertainment and clothing or personal expenses were the items with the greatest number of cutbacks. A substantial number of respondents made cutbacks in items such as household expenses and vacations. They felt that they were less able to share money with others and reported they gave less to charitable donations or financial aid to relatives. For almost half of the respondents transportation was affected and cutbacks were made in this area.

The item where it might be least expected for them to make cutbacks, use of medical services was similarly affected. They could not afford medical services not covered by their health care insurance. In all categories of cutbacks women and men and mid-age and older workers were not very different in these behaviours. The findings regarding cutbacks echo what older workers in the focus groups told the Advisory Council on older workers in the mid 1980s; to survive financially they were required to make cutbacks, "some will cutback on food" one older worker reported (Canada Employment and Immigration Advisory Council, 1985, p. 10).

In the face of the financial concerns and the cutbacks they felt compelled to make, how did they see their present situation in relation to the past and how did they see their future? These were some of the areas explored with the participants. To answer these concerns respondents were asked two questions about their financial situation: "Would you say that you (and your family) are better off or worse off or just the same financially than you were a year ago?" and "Now looking ahead- do you think that a year from now you (and your family) will be better off financially, or worse off, or just about the same as now?" Most, definitely, felt that they were worse off financially than they were a year ago, however, some felt their situation had not changed appreciably and a few even judged their situation to have improved over the last year. Mid-age men and older women were more apt to feel that their financial situation had deteriorated although there really was not much difference in responses.

The participants were certainly optimistic when it came to the future, with gender differences being evident in this optimism. Around two-thirds of the women felt their financial situation would improve but whether this was due to the fact that they believed because of attending a JFC they would be successful in finding a job and thus improve their situation or not is difficult to say. Again, older men were certainly more guarded in their response, as even though half of them felt their financial situation would be better, a number felt it would be worse. Mid-age men were somewhat or guardedly optimistic.

Retirement plans. Unemployment could be expected to affect an older worker's retirement plans. This could not be explored with the larger group of JFC members, yet, it is important to know how unemployment in later years influences this decision for older workers. Many of the participants in this study, i.e., those 55-64 years, would be in their pre-retirement years so a job loss or job quit at this time would be expected to affect them the most. During the interview the respondents were asked two questions about retirement plans: "Under ideal circumstances, at what age would you like to retire?" and "At what age do you really expect to retire?"

In response to when individuals would most like to retire, for an unknown reason, age 60 years seemed to be the most frequent answer. For some, with the exception of mid-age women, a few said they "never" wanted to retire. A gender difference noted was that the mid-age women generally wanted to retire at an earlier age, perhaps reflecting when their spouse or partner was likely to retire, as frequently married couples make their retirement decisions together although that trend is changing somewhat. At least one of the older men and one of the older women would prefer to retire now, i.e., at age 55 years.

Desired and expected retirement age varied. For the majority the expected age of retirement was the usual retirement age of 65 years. A number of the respondents reported either 55, 60 or 65 years but some of the respondents said "never" to this as well. One mid-age worker when he was thinking about the response to when he expected to retire rather poignantly replied, " for all I know I may already be retired". Less than 10% would like to retire at an older age but expect they will retire at an earlier age, however, almost one half of the respondents would like to retire at an earlier age but expect to work until an older age. The latter finding is perhaps reflective of how the participant's unsteady employment in later years has affected retirement planning. For almost one-quarter of the participants the responses to the two questions are the same. Clearly there are major implications for retirement planning among older unemployed workers.

Since we cannot assume that retirement plans were necessarily changed by their unemployment alone, the respondents were asked if because of their recent period of unemployment their retirement plans had changed, and to what they attributed these changes. Retirement plans have changed for a number of them (64.9%) as a result of their recent unemployment, more so for men than for women; mid-age men (75.0%), older men (72.7%) older women (55.6%) and mid-age women (46.2%). This change in future planning is mainly attributed to their current forced use of savings and investments. Additionally, not being able to contribute to work-based pension plans and not being able to invest in registered retirement savings plans are also reasons that many felt compelled to change their plans for retirement.

Attitudes Towards Finding a Job

There is some research on attitudes to age and the effects that these have on job searching and re-employment (Kramar, 1984). Two other attitudinal factors frequently discussed are the willingness to take any job and both occupational and geographical mobility. The other key factor is willingness to retrain which will be explored next. All three of these attitudes if they do not favour flexibility are usually strikes against the older worker group when it come to re-employment. They tend not to change occupations as readily as younger workers and not to be as willing to relocate to another geographical area. Although both are understandable responses, because in the first situation older workers are less favoured for retraining, which might be a necessary precondition for occupational mobility. Relocation may be a more difficult decision because many older workers own their own homes and it might be economically difficult for them to sell their homes at this period. It is always difficult to say how much each of these attitudes acts as a barrier for older workers. Participants were asked questions about their willingness to take any job, relocate within Canada for a job, and if anyone could find a job if she/he really tried to do so. Almost twice as many participants disagree as agree with the statement that they would take any job in order to be re-employed and some are clearly undecided. Table 5-6 shows the agreement and disagreement on these statements. There are differences among the four age and gender groups. A higher percentage of older men disagree with the statement compared with the others. Mid-age women were also slightly more likely to disagree. The greatest willingness was expressed by older women. It is well acknowledged by social psychologists that attitudes do not always translate into actual behaviour, but the responses could indicate just how much the person wants to find a job. There could also be an element of giving a socially desirable response to the question on willingness to take any job.

Mid-age men and older women were more willing to say that they would relocate anywhere in Canada if it meant being able to work. These were the same two age and gender groups as noted above who were less likely to own their own homes. In fact when home ownership and willingness to move were cross-tabulated 76.5% who owned their homes disagreed with the statement that they would be willing to move for employment while 43.5% who rented disagreed with the statement and 47.8% who rented their residence agreed. One area where the groups demonstrate the most difference was in a person's ability to find a job if they try hard enough. Over half of the mid-age men agreed and this probably is less than optimistic for this group considering their success. Older men disagreed with the statement more than the other three groups, perhaps reflecting their experiences with greater discontinuity of employment despite efforts to find a job and their greater difficulty in finding a job. Their attitude, therefore, seemed realistic given their situation. Women certainly seemed a bit more undecided on the issue.

Table 5-6: Attitudes Toward Finding a Job by Age and Gender

Agreement or disagreement with each of the following:[1]	**Mid-age men (n = 24) %**	**Mid-age women (n = 13) %**	**Older men (n = 11) %**	**Older women (n = 9) %**
I would take any job to become employed again:				
Disagree	54.2	61.5	63.6	55.6
Undecided	20.8	15.4	18.2	11.1
Agree	25.0	23.1	18.2	33.3
I would be willing to move anywhere in Canada to work:				
Disagree	41.7	84.6	81.8	66.7
Undecided	12.5	--	--	--
Agree	45.8	15.4	18.2	33.3
Anyone can find a job if he/she tries hard enough:				
Disagree	25.0	53.8	72.7	22.2
Undecided	16.7	--	9.1	44.4
Agree	58.3	46.2	18.2	33.3

[1] Response format in the survey questionnaire was a seven point Likert scale from 'Strongly disagree' to 'Strongly agree'. The table results above were collapsed from this format.

Willingness to Change Careers and Retrain

An often stated criticism of older workers is that they are not willing to change their careers, and as a consequence one of the problems for re-employment among this group is poor occupational mobility. The participants were asked to respond to the question, "If you had the chance would you prefer a different type of job or career? and if they replied positively were asked to respond to the question, "Would you prefer a different job or career if this required retraining or further education?" Just over three-quarters of the mid-age women say they would prefer a job or career change while slightly more than two-thirds of the mid-age men say yes. Older workers, in particular older women, were less likely to prefer a change. However, once workers stated a preference to change their career a high percentage still prefer to do so even if retraining or further education is required; men more so than women. In fact very few of the participants who would be willing to change would refuse to retrain.

While these workers expressed a high degree of willingness to retrain their experiences and perceptions of the relationship of training/retraining to age are in keeping with what has been reported in the literature. Table 5-7 shows attitudes to retraining by age and gender groups. Only a few of the men felt that older workers are given first opportunities for retraining. Additionally, women had a more realistic view of gender and retraining in that they were more likely to say that men are usually given the first opportunity for retraining. More than half of the participants felt that opportunities for retraining ought to be more egalitarian when it comes to age even though that is not what frequently occurs.

For the most part participants did not see any barriers as to why the two groups, older and younger workers, could not be retrained together, however, when looking at specific training methods rated younger workers higher for learning better with computer assisted methods. Apart from the mid-age women, almost half felt that completing some retraining does increase opportunities for advancement for both older and younger workers. Mid-age women felt that younger workers were by far the advantaged group.

When actual retraining experiences were explored with this group, not many had experienced retraining any time in the past. Only 28.1% of the participants said that retraining had actually been required to do their job and a further 68.8% of those who required some retraining actually took part in retraining. None of the retraining seemed of a major nature as for most it was learning computer skills.

Table 5-7: Retraining, Older Workers, and Gender by Age and Gender

Do you think:	Mid-age men 44-54 (n = 24) %	Mid-age women 44-54 (n = 13) %	Older men 55-65 (n = 11) %	Older women 55-65 (n = 9) %
That younger or older workers are given first opportunities for retraining?				
Younger	60.9	90.0	72.7	75.0
Older	13.0	--	9.1	--
Both/neither	26.1	10.0	18.2	25.0
That younger or older workers should be given first opportunities to retrain?				
Younger	16.7	15.4	27.3	--
Older	25.0	38.5	27.3	37.5
Both/neither	58.4	46.2	45.4	62.5
That men or women are given first opportunities for retraining?				
Men	36.8	76.9	37.5	75.0
Women	15.8	--	25.0	12.5
Both/neither	47.4	23.1	37.5	12.8
That younger and older workers should be in the same group for retraining?				
Yes	77.3	76.9	72.7	77.8
No	13.6	15.4	18.2	22.2
Doesn't matter	9.1	7.7	9.1	--
Completing retraining usually increases opportunities for advancement?				
Younger workers	33.3	83.3	55.6	50.0
Older workers	14.3	--	--	--
Both/neither	52.4	16.7	44.4	50.0

Being an Older Worker

As was indicated in the literature review and is demonstrated in Appendix A there is not a clear consensus among government departments and researchers as to just what age, or other factors, contribute to defining an older worker. This is a topic explored with the participants who were interviewed. They were asked about how they thought older workers were defined.

Who is the Older Worker?

Many people are surprised to learn that a person is considered an older worker at age 45 years and while this is a common definition of an older worker, one of the conceptual difficulties identified earlier in this study was how to define this group. As was seen from the various definitions found in the literature either 45 years and older, or 55 years and older, are the common age groups used in a definition. Previously these definitions were at one time tied with the difficulty that this age presented for employment or finding a job, but in the past couple of decades, the definition seems to be defined by age alone. Nevertheless, some managers studied at NOVA tied in their definition with work-related factors (CARNET, 1996). Since occupation, or possibly the type of work in a particular occupation, and an employer's assessment of age in the occupation are apt to influence how an older worker is defined the respondents were asked to reply to two questions on older workers: "When you think of older workers in your occupation, how do you define older workers?" and "In you last job, how do you think your employer defined older workers?" They were given the option of responding with "age 45 years or older" or "55 years and older" or any other age.

Most of the participants reported the more common definition of 45 years or older as how they would be defined as an older worker in their last occupation followed by the 55 years and older category. This seemed to hold across a variety of occupations, although some trends were evident on close look at the definition by specific occupations.

Interestingly enough, in what might be considered the "heavier" occupations, e.g., construction, mining, and heavy industrial work, the person thought an older worker would be someone 55 years or older, while in such occupations as food and beverage services, government positions, and educational services they were more likely to say 45 years or older. This could have been based on their personal experiences but could also reflect lay-off ages or even early retirement age for some occupations. Occupation and gender made a difference. It would be expected then that women who more frequently came from the latter group of occupations, i.e., service, would say 45 years and older for the defining age and men being more commonly from the heavier occupations would say 55 years and older, and that is what happened.

Chronological age of the respondent did not make any difference, as a mid-age worker might just as likely use 45 years or older as 55 years or older for the definition of an older worker, and this was also true for the older worker groups. Other ages that were cited as defining the older worker in their previous occupation were 40, 50, or 60 years and some men said they did not know. There is no widespread agreement among older workers as to just what age defines their group.

It was more difficult for the respondents to judge how their last employer would define an older worker, and about one-quarter said they did not know, or they simply did not respond to the question. When they did volunteer an answer they followed the same pattern as above for occupation, more said 45 years and older than 55 years and older, and a few gave the ages 40, 50, or 60 years old. A 50 year old man who had worked in the area of recreation said his employer would say an older worker was someone over 25 years. In relation to past employer's definitions of older workers, neither age, gender, nor occupation, seemed to have much influence, and in this respect personal experience with the employer was conceivably the most important.

Subjective age. How old a person actually feels regardless of their actual or chronological age seems to have an important psychological effect on certain behaviours. As translated into everyday language "you are only as old as you feel". At least a few researchers have mentioned its positive relationship for re-employment among older workers (Kramar, 1984; Sheppard & Belitsky, 1966), although this relationship tends not to be studied, as researchers tend to use actual age. It is evident in the worker profiles presented in the beginning of this chapter the person did not always agree with how they think an employer would define an older worker. Even though the participants were aware that they were defined in certain occupations as "older" workers, subjectively they did not feel old. Subjective age was assessed by getting those interviewed to reply the questions: "Some people feel older or younger than they really are. In general, what age do you feel?"

Less than 10% of the participants felt older than their chronological age and a further 10% felt that age. One 45 year old man did say he felt 70 years old but he was certainly the exception. By far the respondents were likely to say they felt younger than their actual age sometimes even by as much as 20 to 30 years. Women were more likely to say they felt younger as did those over 55 years. Most of these older workers simply did not feel "old" despite being unemployed and attending a program for older workers. This feeling of being young or younger, however, did not cloud their assessments of how employers and occupations assessed age.

Age and gender discrimination. Although there is not much information on the extent to which age discrimination exists in Canada and despite the legislation against it, there might be some reasons to think that it is becoming more prevalent. The types of discrimination may even be changing, in that at one time women were more frequently victims and while their situation may have improved a little with equity policies, "reverse" discrimination may now be a factor for older men (Canadian Human Rights Commission, 1997). The participants were asked about age and gender discrimination in their search for work or during work over the last year. Nineteen replied "yes" to age discrimination, and it was mid-age workers who more frequently felt they experienced this type of discrimination. The breakdown was eight mid-age men, five mid-age women, three older men and three older women. Only one older woman among the respondents felt she was discriminated because of gender but two mid-age men and one older man reported "reverse" gender discrimination. Other types of discrimination experienced in work, or searching for work, were on the basis of their ethnicity or because of a disability. It would have been useful to have separated this questioning as to work versus searching for work in order to get a sense of how much perceived discrimination takes place when older workers are actually looking for a job. Did the respondents get any comments related to their age when they talked with a potential employer? Some of the respondents did mentioned it as one of the challenges while searching for work.

Political Consequences of Being an Unemployed Older Worker

The research into the relationship between political intention or behaviour to unemployment is not without problems, both conceptual and methodological (Fraser, Marsh, & Jobling, 1985). Conceptually political reactions to unemployment have been either related to the "older orthodoxy" which holds that, "the unemployed are particularly likely to be politicised and radicalised by their experiences" or the "newer orthodoxy" which states the opposite, "the unemployed, far from being politicised, become politically inactive and even withdrawn" (p. 352) and that the more disadvantaged the person is, the less likely they are to feel that political action will have any effect (Reich, 1992). Methodologically it is difficult to specify and thus measure the relationship between political attitudes and employment status alone. Clearly a number of other factors may influence political views. One of the factors may be age or has been suggested that political conservatism increases with age (Furnham, 1990).

A number of researchers have looked at the political consequences for workers who are affected by a plant closing (Grayson, 1986b; Perrucci, et al., 1997; Westergaard, et al., 1989) or restructuring of the economy resulting in a shift from manufacturing (Murgatroyd & Urry, 1985), but few have looked at workers affected by unemployment caused primarily by changes in the business cycle. The previous research has either examined how much blame to place on these institutions for the closure, if the workers are likely to engage in radical political action, how much confidence the workers had in various social institutions, intended voting patterns, or what they see as appropriate level of political intervention.

Segmented labour market theory grew out of a search to understand why some specific groups were overrepresented among the disadvantaged and what could be done to improve their condition. The segment of the labour market where one was located is felt to be predictive of, among other behaviours, political behaviour. One of the early economic theorists Kerr (1954) suggested that, "how . . . (a person) . . . is located economically will affect his view of society and his personal identification with society and its constituent groups, and thus his political behaviour" (p. 107).

Degree of Confidence in Societal Institutions

Being an older worker who is having difficulty in finding work is one situation which could be expected to have an effect on an individual's perception of what is happening in society and in turn to affect the level of confidence in societal institutions; institutions which traditionally are seen as helping to ensure that individuals do not find themselves in situations like this. Workers who lose jobs or are unable to find jobs, therefore, would be expected to have a high level of alienation and distrust of such institutions (Perrucci, Perrucci, Targ, & Targ, 1988). Participants in this study were asked to express their confidence in different social institutions such as government, financial institutions, media, educational institutions, big business and unions. These items were measured on a 7-point Likert Scale. The items were then added to get an overall score out of a range between 6 and 42. The higher the score the greater the confidence the person/group had in the social institutions.

Table 5-8 shows the participant's mean score for confidence in societal institutions and the possible impact their situation might have on levels of confidence in social institutions, although no baseline data is available for comparison. The scores ranged between a low of 9 and a high of 35. Older women expressed the greatest confidence in these institutions, while mid-age women and the two groups of men were fairly similar in their mean score. Confidence in the different institutions varied quite a bit with the lowest confidence expressed for unions (17.9% had confidence), followed by government (21.4% had confidence), media (26.3%), "big" business (40.4%), and banks and financial institutions (42.1%). Educational institutions had the highest level of confidence with 69.6% saying they had confidence in these institutions. The surprising finding is that in an economic climate where big business is accumulating larger and larger profits and making more and more workers redundant these unemployed older workers have accepted an ideology which supports these businesses. They had a fairly high level of confidence in big business. Using similar items[1] and scoring system Perrucci and co-researchers (1997) found the opposite effects for gender to that found in this study on the overall level of confidence in social institutions.

Intended Voting Patterns

Westergaard, Noble and Allen (1989) in their study on redundancy in Sheffield, England found that the experience of losing a job did not "radicalize" the workers at least in their political party support. Rather they showed the same trends of moving toward the political right as was seen in other parts of England in the late 1970s and early 1980s.

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[1] The eight items Perrucci used were: Presidency, Congress, Supreme Court, business, labour unions, religion, medicine, and law.

Table 5-8: Mean Score of Confidence in Social Institutions by Total Group and by Age and Gender (Possible Range of Scores 6-42)

Group	Mean	SD	N
Entire Group	22.87	5.67	54
Mid-age men	22.35	5.34	23
Mid-age women	22.62	6.63	13
Older men	22.78	5.45	9
Older women	24.67	5.85	9

Their conclusion was, "In short, our respondents proved not to be immune from the drift of opinion [to the right] elsewhere" (p. 129). The experience of redundancy did not make these workers different politically. Age did play a part, at least among the manual workers in Sheffield, as older workers tended to move towards the right, while young and middle-age workers remained with the Labour party.

Participants in the present study were asked about voting intentions: "If an election were held today, how would you vote: Federally? Provincially?" Almost 30% preferred not to answer the first question and 20% the second, however, of those who did respond, at the federal level only 3.5% would stay with the incumbent Progressive Conservative government, 35.1% would vote for the Liberal party, 15.8% for the New Democrats, 12.3% the Reform party, and 3.5% reported categorically they "would not vote". Distribution of intended voting was greater at the provincial level with 21.1% remaining with the incumbent Progressive Conservative Party, 33.3% intending to vote Liberal, 15.8% New Democrat, 5.3% Reform, (although it does not exist provincially), and 3.5% not intending to vote. While Furnham (1990) argues that there is a move towards conservatism in political views as people age, there did not seem to be discernable age and gender differences, apart from a higher percentage of older women who preferred not to respond to the questions. There was a tendency for those interviewed to want a change of political party in office, but whether this meant a real change in policy is less clear as a higher percentage would still vote for one of the two major parties in Canada. A limitation of this study is that these peoples' political views prior to unemployment or when they were younger is not available for comparison.

Whether the participant's optimism for the future as noted above influenced their confidence in social institutions is hard to say, but whatever the reason these men and women still retained a fair to moderate degree of confidence in the various social institutions perhaps with the exception of unions. Grayson (1986b) examined the influence of unemployment on political attitudes among a group of displaced plant workers in Ontario. He suggested that the closure had a major impact on how the affected employees judged their political efficacy and these feelings were sustained. The men and to a greater extent the women felt they could do little to influence the political process and also were more unlikely than the general population to resort to radical means to try and effect change. While the workers at the JFC were not asked about political efficacy their low levels of confidence in the government would suggest they do not see much change can be made to the system; a system which made them unemployed. Perhaps using the same logic they do not see organized labour as a solution to the unemployment problem either.

The respondents did not express this moderately high level of confidence in social institutions because they were unaware of the growing inequality in Canada; to a large extent they were quite aware. In response to whether or not the income differences are too great between the rich and poor in Canada there was a great deal of agreement in that 83.9%, or the majority of the respondents, agreed the discrepancy was too large. Just about all the participants with the exception of mid-age men agree that there is too great of an inequality in the incomes among Canadians. Form (1985; 1995) suggested that as the economy developed further, workers would vary more in political ideology, incomes, and social status. He describes this process as one of "fractured politics". Perhaps some of the fractured politics he found is occurring here and reflected in the participants' divided opinions and levels of confidence in social institutions and intended voting patterns.

Support for Government Actions

Given these attitudes toward some of the main societal institutions what did this group of older workers think was an appropriate role for government? What issues were important for government to act upon? Subjects were asked how important they felt it was for government to deal with a number of social issues, such as promoting traditional family values, providing more quality daycare, providing more support for families looking after older relatives, enforcing child support payments, providing more support for single parents, reducing discrimination against women in the workplace, promoting flexibility in the workplace to meet family responsibilities, how important it is for the government to deal with reducing unemployment, making sure that people have a reasonable standard of living (reducing poverty), and creating a better "business climate" by reducing taxes on big business. In Table 5-9 is an overall summary of the subjects' responses on the importance of government's role for selected areas.

Reducing unemployment and making sure people have a reasonable standard of living by reducing poverty were the two issues that respondents felt were most important, no doubt, reflecting their personal situations of being unemployed and concern for what might occur within their households. It could also reflect what they are seeing in society, that is, a growing problem with unemployment, and as most observed a widening between the rich and the poor within Canada. Creating a better "business climate" by reducing taxes on big business, providing more quality day care and promoting traditional family values were rated the least important. Most of the people interviewed would not have children in daycare so the issue may not have as much salience for them as it might for a younger age group.

Table 5-9: The Importance of Government's Role on Selected Issues (N = 57)

Importance for government to deal with each of the following:[1]	Not Important %	Neutral %	Important %
Promoting traditional family values	26.3	10.5	63.2
Providing more quality day care	19.6	17.9	62.5
Providing more support to families to look after older relatives	10.5	8.8	80.7
Reducing discrimination against women in the workplace	8.8	8.8	82.5
Promoting flexibility in the workplace to meet family responsibilities	10.5	8.8	80.7
Reducing unemployment	3.5	5.3	91.2
Reducing poverty	5.3	7.0	87.7
Creating a better "business climate" by reducing taxes on big business	42.1	10.5	42.4

A high percentage of all respondents felt it was important for government to reduce discrimination against women in the workplace and a lower percentage, although almost two-thirds of the respondents, agreed it was important to promote family values.

There were some noted differences by age/gender groups on these issues explored and their importance. Women, especially mid-age women (92.3%), felt it was important for the government to promote flexibility in the workplace to meet family responsibilities. As was noted previously, these were the group with the most discontinuities in their past employment and some of that may have been due to family responsibility. They would be the age group that may have more overlapping family responsibilities, such as children still at home and aging parents. Mid-age men were less apt to feel that government needed to reduce discrimination against women and this is in keeping with their belief that women are not disadvantaged for retraining opportunities as noted above. Men of this age perceive more equality for women in the workplace and may even feel that there has been a shift from supporting men to favouring women on certain dimensions, i.e., getting a job.

All the older men and mid-age women felt it was more important for the government to deal with reducing unemployment. Older women were less likely to think government action was warranted in this sphere and were the most likely to report they felt it was important for the government to create a better "business climate" by reducing taxes on big business. This finding is in keeping with their high degree of confidence in big business as mentioned above. Perrucci, Perrucci, and Targ (1997) focused their questioning on possible actions that the U.S. government could undertake to deal with economic problems when they interviewed displaced plant workers. A higher percentage of women than men in their study said the government should end unemployment and provide families with money for a decent standard of living while men were more likely to advocate reducing taxes to big businesses.

Life Satisfaction

The final set of questions on how older workers saw their situation was on life satisfaction. Satisfaction with life measures are used in research on the effects of unemployment on health (Warr, 1985). Participants were asked to rate their satisfaction with nine dimensions of themselves or their lives on a 7-point Likert scale. The scores ranged from 17 to 63. Table 5-10 shows the mean satisfaction score of all participants and broken down by age and gender. Scores were fairly similar. Mid-age respondents had slightly lower scores and older workers slightly higher, however, overall differences were small. Women showed the most variation in their scores. For individual items there were some differences. Mid-age men were most satisfied with their health (83.3%) and least satisfied with how they spent their time (41.7%).

Table 5-10: Mean Satisfaction Score by Total Group and by Age and Gender (Possible Range of Scores 9-63)

Group	Mean	SD	N
Entire Group	45.05	9.52	57
Mid-age men	44.25	9.44	24
Mid-age women	44.69	10.18	13
Older men	46.27	8.26	11
Older women	46.22	11.49	9

Mid-age women were most satisfied with their relations with family and friends (92.4%) and least satisfied with their health (61.6%), education (23.1%), life in general (77%), self (61.6%), marital status (77%) and finances (14.4%). As a group mid-age women had the greatest number of areas of dissatisfaction. They did have the lowest level of education of the four age and gender groups and they were clearly dissatisfied with this aspect of their lives. This dissatisfaction did not as could be expected translate into a lack of confidence in social institutions.

Older men expressed the greatest satisfaction with family life (81.9%), marital status (91%) and finances (45.5%) and were not lowest on any of the items. Older women rated themselves most satisfied with their education (66.6%), life in general (88.8%), self (77.7%), and the way they spent their time (88.9%), while they were the most dissatisfied with family life (66.6%) and their relations with family and friends (77.7%). Finances was the area where most of the participants had a high to moderate amount of dissatisfaction and it was higher for mid-age workers than older workers. This is in keeping with the number of mid-age workers who felt that their financial situation had become worse in the past year.

They were all somewhat decided as to whether or not women or men in the older age group had a harder time balancing work and family responsibilities. When asked the question "Who faces greater challenges over age 45 in balancing work or family responsibilities - men or women?, mid-age men were just as apt to say "women" as "men" and about a quarter said "both". Mid-age women had a slight preference toward "women" over "men" in their response and older women were equally split. None of the older men said "women" but slightly over half said "men" while the others replied "both".

Summary: Social Factors and Re-employment

The findings from this part of the study expand our understanding of what it is like to be an older worker and searching for a job in the labour market and how men and women experience this differently. It assists in comprehending some of the challenges that re-employment poses and does raise the issue of other labour market risks among older workers besides age and gender. One of these risks is discontinuity in employment. The work histories in the past ten years, especially of the mid-age women, demonstrated a great deal of discontinuity and what impact this has on the ability to find a job is an important issue. For some types of employment, particularly in primary sector jobs, employers use discontinuity as a screening device and it is why long term unemployment becomes a major barrier to re-employment. Older men had the shortest tenure of last job leading to the question of when this group begins to experience difficulties with employment because of age.

The participants did not underestimate many of the difficulties that they as older workers faced in their search for employment, yet, their subjective feelings of age conflicted with these estimations. In general they did not feel old, however, they still realized that age had an effect on finding a job. They identified one of the labour market risks confronting them as discrimination in a number of forms. Although age discrimination was the main form identified, gender, including "reverse discrimination", disability, and ethnicity were other forms experienced. Age, or being an older worker, made a difference to how these workers felt they would be evaluated for employment.

They believed that frequently employers identify them as older workers at age 45 years, or even younger, and that certain jobs or occupations define a worker as an older worker at a set age. Additionally, many of them saw younger workers being favoured over older workers for retraining opportunities.

One of the greatest challenges that a number of those interviewed had to deal with while unemployed was related to finances. Economic conditions had deteriorated for quite a few of the participants over the past year. They reported making financial cutbacks in a number of areas of their spending including health care. Mainly because of being out of work and having difficulty finding a job, retirement plans had changed as well. There was increasing dissonance between when they would like to retire and when they expected to retire and financial reasons were cited as the main reason.

Job finding techniques had not changed appreciably in type from those they had learned at the JFC although job search intensity seemed to have fallen off somewhat for those who were no longer attending the JFC. A number of the workers were willing to consider other options for becoming re-employed such as a geographical relocation, taking any job, or taking retraining. Perhaps older men were a little more reluctant to adopt some of these measures and that might have reflected their poorer success rate at finding a job. They might not expect the situation to change appreciably even if they did relocate within the country.

Despite their experiences of being unemployed older workers, their level of confidence in social institutions was higher than would be expected given these circumstances. There was variation in level of confidence among the different institutions measured. They did have a lower degree of confidence in government but fairly high degree for "big" business suggesting they felt the market offered more solutions than the state. Previous studies on plant closings have demonstrated that confidence in social institutions may not be affected appreciably by unemployment and in that respect these workers did not differ a great deal. The level of confidence expressed does stands in contrast to their overwhelming sense of a growing inequality between the rich and the poor in Canada and their concern for themselves about their ability to find a suitable job. There was a fair degree of consistency in the responses of these workers on one aspect of intended voting; fewer would vote for the incumbent political party. They still would vote for the parties with more similar policies. Age and gender differences were difficult to assess as a high percentage of the participants preferred not to answer this question. Regardless of voting intention, most favoured government intervention in reducing poverty and unemployment with some age and gender differences noted. In general, too, they had a moderately high level of satisfaction and this might in part explain why the level of confidence in social institutions was as high as it was. They were generally satisfied with life. There were some differences in the ratings of satisfaction on different items and mid-age men appeared to be the most dissatisfied of all as a group. They were, however, divided on the issue of gender as it related to whether men or woman in the older age group had more difficulty when it came to balancing work and family responsibility.

CHAPTER 6

DISCUSSION AND RECOMMENDATIONS FOR FURTHER RESEARCH

> *Everywhere men and women are worried about their future. The young are beginning to vent their frustration and rage in increasing antisocial behaviour. Older workers, caught between a prosperous past and a bleak future, seem resigned, feeling increasingly trapped by social forces over which they have little or no control.*
>
> Jeremy Rifkin, (1995, p. 5)
> *The End of Work*

There is an increasing awareness among government officials and policy makers that older workers are at risk for unemployment and that they are experiencing increasing difficulties with re-employment because of age (Akyeampong, 1987b; Canada Employment and Immigration Advisory Council, 1985; Canadian Employment and Immigration Advisory Council, 1986; CLMPC, 1990). The literature review on past and present labour market adjustment strategies in the second chapter highlights the fact that the specific needs of older workers has not been entirely absent from the design of programs to assist with unemployment. At particular points in history, in fact, the government has demonstrated explicit concern with these needs and has implemented programs with the express purpose of meeting the needs of older workers.

There is a long history of governments attempting to come to terms with older workers' difficulties with re-employment by monitoring these difficulties, studying them through various task forces and hearings, and putting specific programs in place to deal with problems felt to be more pertinent for older workers (Hunter, 1993; Odell, 1980; Sobel & Wilcock, 1966). At times these strategies or programs have been more in the nature of passive programs with an emphasis on income replacement or educational programs to promote the hiring of older workers. Other times more active strategies aimed at helping older workers find a job have been instituted. The use of various retirement schemes, both public and private, have also been in response to older workers difficulties. The importance of these retirement schemes cannot be underestimated as a way of, from time to time, dealing with the older worker, as Brown (1990) indicated, "the definition of an older worker (or older unemployed person) in policy discussion tends to move in relation to two factors: the age of retirement and the level of unemployment" (p. 120).

What has been less well addressed in the literature is how well these strategies targeted at older workers improve their chances for re-employment or have an impact on the type of work they find. These issues need to be addressed in order to consider what type of labour market adjustment program would best meet the needs of older workers. This study set out to examine the re-employment experiences of older workers in the context of a particular labour market adjustment program; a job finding club (JFC). The aims were to see how this particular strategy assisted these workers to overcome two of their labour market barriers, age and gender, and to analyze some of the outcomes of the JFC for older workers in an attempt to have a greater understanding of this groups' labour market activity. Other barriers associated with older workers, such as education, occupation, and attitudes toward re-employment were studied as well. Accordingly, this chapter is a discussion of the findings from the study and what implications these findings have for one particular labour market strategy; the targeting of specific programs, such as a JFC, towards older workers in an attempt to improve their labour market success. The other sections of the chapter discuss policy implications, the strengths and limitations of the study, generalizability of the findings, and some recommendations for further research.

The JFC as an Employment Strategy for Mid-Age and Older Workers

Did the JFC assist mid-age and older workers, both men and women, to overcome their labour market re-entry barriers? To some extent the question has been answered by demonstrating who got jobs and what kind of jobs they found. At the end of the JFC, 41% of the participants were working and three months later this had increased to 72%. While the short term results were poor, some gains were made in the longer term, showing at least modest success. In comparison with other JFCs in Canada where older workers were included, and as indicated previously, the participants did relatively well. However, they did less well than selected groups of younger workers (Mills, 1987). A number of older workers were assisted in their efforts to find a job through participation in the JFC but some of these participants experienced a decrease in skill level and salary in their new job as compared with their previous job. This section explores some of the differences that may account for the findings and also analyses the JFC as an approach to older workers.

Participants in the JFC. One of the observations from the study which has important implications for appropriate labour market adjustment strategies for mid-age and older workers is that compared with previous participants in other JFCs in Canada and the U.S. (Cook, 1987; Mills, 1987) the type of participant in this category of program may be changing. JFCs were designed and implemented by the federal government as a cost-effective means of getting some hard-to-employ individuals back into the workforce. Hard-to-employ individuals were defined as vulnerable for continued unemployment by virtue of having low educational qualifications, being unskilled, possessing certain socioeconomic difficulties, or being made redundant in a previous jobs (Mills, 1987). Welfare recipients and young people with specific labour market disadvantages who were having difficulty finding work have been two of the populations previously targeted for this type of employment assistance, or alternatively, the program was instituted after a plant closure as a means of placing a large number of workers back in the workforce. While people receiving welfare benefits, those coming from unskilled jobs, and individuals with lower educational qualifications, i.e., less than high school, continue to be represented among the clients attending the JFC under study, they only made up 11.6%, 6.8%, and 7.3% respectively with considerable overlap among the three groups.

What is clear from the findings is that at least among mid-age and older workers, "hard-to-employ" is being redefined. This finding suggests that other type of labour market strategies may be more appropriate than JFCs for the current group of older workers who are unemployed. The sociodemographic, occupational and previous employment characteristics of the JFC members indicate the type of worker who is being referred to or availing themselves of this kind of service. Participants were relatively well educated in that almost two-thirds had post-secondary education and this educational preparation was divided almost equally between university and college, technical, or vocational programs. By and large we are not looking at unskilled workers as 36.0% of these came from jobs at the technical, paraprofessional, and skilled level. A further 13.1% came from professional occupations.

The JFC participants differed on other characteristics, in particular, the length of time they were out of work and the continuity in their work histories. In looking at both the JFC record data and the interview responses from participants, what appears to be happening is that the JFC is attracting two very different type of clientele. The first are the participants that the JFC was really designed to assist. These are individuals who for whatever reason frequently end up unemployed or in a labour market adjustment program. They have had a very discontinuous job history and might have had a variety of relatively low paying jobs. They tend to be people with lower educational qualifications and many have been on social assistance. Finding a job as quickly as possible, no matter how temporary or of what quality, is a realistic goal for this group. They have been in the secondary labour market almost from time of entry to it and perhaps do not have an expectation of securing another type of job. About 37% of the JFC participants came from jobs with lower skill levels. Although they have had unsteady work throughout their lives, they may be experiencing increasing difficulties as they get older.

The second type of clientele is different from the first group in a number of important ways. They are those individuals who are experiencing their first episode of unemployment, or perhaps second, after a long continuous work history. They are being affected by the changes in the workplace and an economic climate, which is putting a new group of individuals out of work. These are individuals who, in the past, did not have this kind of displacement experience, at least not in the numbers we are seeing now. As one unemployed manager explained, a few years ago he was involved in layoffs of those he supervised, something that happened to "his employees", not to managers. He never envisioned the same process happening to him because he felt his employment was quite secure. Now he was experiencing his second layoff from a "good" job in as many years. Like this unemployed man a number of individuals attending the JFC would have been in the primary labour market and would have been managers or in a highly skilled job. These individuals generally thought they were in a secure job and had planned to remain in that job until retirement. Their goal is different from the person coming from a job in the secondary labour market. They generally want to maintain the type of job they had, or if they now have a temporary job in the secondary labour market, to improve that situation. As a labour market strategy, the JFC is more appropriate for the first kind of clientele and not as appropriate for the second group.

The reasons that the JFC is more appropriate for the first group and not to the same degree for many of the second is the method of operation and the premise behind the program. Much of how JFCs operate is a function of their original reason for being. Job finding assistance programs like the JFC were developed and used in the 1970s in the U.S. for welfare, or welfare-eligible recipients, most often women. The main goal of those programs was to get unskilled welfare recipients with little if any experience in the labour market off welfare. One of the premises of the program was that, "the main barrier to *welfare recipients* finding jobs is not the absence of specific work skills or employment experience but the recipient's inexperience in, and lack of effective techniques for, seeking out and obtaining a job" (emphasis added, Gueron, 1989, p. 368). Underlying this premise is the belief that there are jobs to be filled in an area and all that individuals need to be taught is how to find those jobs. While this premise may apply in the case of specific clients, i.e., for whom the program was originally designed and who are expected to enter the secondary labour market, the approach often fails to consider that in order for selected workers with particular skills and work histories (often in the primary labour market) and for those with identifiable labour market risks relating to skills to take advantage of available jobs they may require some new skills. If they do not receive these additional skills in the form of retraining they will be limited to jobs of lower skill level and pay.

The JFC as a labour market adjustment program emphasizes fast placement and a fairly high turnover rate; a characteristic of the secondary labour market. By design this approach reduces the likelihood that major gains will be made in skill or salary level when an individual finds a new job through this type of program and for the most part this is what was observed. The program is not specifically designed to change the occupational distribution of the participants, as would be the case with retraining. When an occupational change does occur, not surprisingly, the predominant change is a negative one. There is a greater loss in skill level than gain and the average salary goes down at all skill levels. This is best illustrated by looking at who gets employed. Mid-age women were the most successful in finding a job at the end of the JFC and remained slightly ahead of the other age-gender groups at the three month follow-up. Older men did the least well of all the age and gender groups. Mid-age women often found jobs in clerical work, where they had previously worked and which seem to have had a higher labour market demand, resulting in their greater success at becoming re-employed. One of the problems with many clerical jobs is that they have a high turnover rate, so despite finding work more readily these women might expect to have more periods of unemployment in the future. The JFC definitely seemed to work best for those women who were in level C and D and this is not surprising as this is exactly the target population this type of program was designed to help.

Almost all the older men interviewed had lost as opposed to quitting their previous job. An examination of their last ten years of employment suggests that this was not a new phenomenon for them. They were the group who had the shortest tenure of a last job and the second highest number of full-time jobs in the past ten years. Their immediate past job history was a definite labour market barrier. Older women had a different pattern and this might have been responsible for their higher success rate as compared with older men. While it was expected that older women's re-employment success would more closely follow that of older men, this clearly was not the case. Instead their performance was more similar to that of mid-age women and men. Part of the difficulty in predicting their success is that not as much research has been done on this group because until relatively recently they were less likely to be active participants in the labour market. A recent trend though is for labour force participation to increase among this group. The work that has been done shows that there is a positive response by employers to hiring older women. Evidence for this is found in the JFC data in that older women were able to obtain the highest percentage of job interviews.

One explanation for mid-age women's and to some extent for older women's slightly better success rates in the program is that the type of program was originally designed for groups that had a predominance of women. The finding that women did best in the short term when they were attending, or had just completed, the JFC program might suggest that this category of approach has a more direct and immediate effect on women in terms of re-employment success, if we count obtaining a job as the only measure of success. This is consistent with the findings of Leigh (1990) who evaluated a number of Comprehensive Employment and Training Act (CETA) programs in the U.S., and found that both women and those under 45 did better in programs that had job search assistance approaches incorporated into them than men and older workers in general. The group job finding approach incorporated into a program, although not developed specifically for women, was used extensively and successfully with women who were on welfare in an attempt to help them become employed (Goldman, 1989).

Harlan and Steinberg (1989a) caution anyone who evaluates policy to be aware of programs that on the surface appear to assist a particular group of individuals, especially where gender is an issue. The expectation of the JFC is that participants should move quickly into the labour market and the emphasis is not on whether or not the participants improve their situation or sustain their employment. The ideology governing this type of approach is that any job is better than none at all and that there are virtually always jobs in the local labour market. Looking in detail at labour market conditions and success rates for different years suggest that the belief is oversimplified, and that in poorer labour market conditions different approaches to re-employment may be required. As the interviews conducted with the JFC participants towards the end of the recession suggested, morale can be negatively affected if the participants accept the ideology of "jobs out there" when objectively there are not. Older men reported higher levels of depression and mid-age women expressed a high degree of uncertainty about their future and higher levels of dissatisfaction with themselves. They questioned why if there were jobs available they were not able to obtain them, and in accepting the underlying assumption of the JFC internalized the blame instead of placing it on structural barriers. Although not many studies, with the exception of Sheppard and Belitisky (1966) and more recently Stevans (1987), have looked at the psychological impact of not finding work on the individual's ability to find a job, attitudes and beliefs are known to have strong effects on a variety of outcomes.

More frequently in this type of research, i.e., on unemployment, researchers examine whether or not political attitudes of the people affected by unemployment have changed through their experience. The findings from the interviews with the participants from the JFC suggest that their experiences certainly did not radicalize them. If anything their reported feelings about their situation would suggest greater apathy or withdrawal. They appeared somewhat demoralized, reported feelings of depression, worried about their ability to keep searching for a job, and expressed uncertainty about the future. Fairly high levels of dissatisfaction with different facets of their lives only served to reinforce their feelings of powerlessness. Many did not believe they could find work no matter how hard they tried. Over half of the mid-age women and almost three-quarters of the older men felt that finding a job was not within the individual person's control. In addition they still looked to government to solve a number of economic and social problems, as well as to market forces in the form of big business, to help with the economic problems.

From the interviews it did appear that the intensity of searching for a job was somewhat diminished when individuals were no longer attending the JFC. This suggests that the program may not have long term effects as far as job searching is concerned. The decrease in job search intensity in the face of continuing unemployment is certainly understandable. It is hard to continue with an activity when there appears to be no reward for the effort. For older men finding a suitable job was a problem and less were inclined to agree that anyone can find a job if she/he tries hard enough. They did have to admit that in the face of the difficulties they experienced that continuing to search for a job was trying. As duration of unemployment increases the sources which individuals use in looking for a job inevitably become somewhat diminished. Individuals have only so many personal contacts they are able to make use of in their job search. If an individual's job skills are limited they are limited in where they can apply. Sources of job leads become diminished under both these conditions. The only way to compensate for these restrictions is to expand the area of the job search or move to another location to continue their search.

Alternatively, retraining would help prepare individuals for a different labour market even within the same locality.

Deskilling and mid-age and older workers. Findings related to deskilling or downward mobility in occupation raise some important points as to what group or groups a JFC might best assist. The issue of deskilling was raised because of the number of mid-age and older workers who found new jobs with skill levels lower than their previous jobs. At the three month follow-up, regardless of gender, the older workers' groups were more likely to increase their employment in skill level D (Labouring and elemental) occupations than the mid-age groups. The four age and gender groups likewise increased their employment at skill level C (Intermediate occupations). All age and gender groups decreased their employment in management occupations and in skill B (Technical, paraprofessional, and skilled) occupations. More marked decreases among older men and women in management positions were noted. Only older women decreased employment in level A (professional) occupations.

Deskilling is a frequent consequence of changing jobs for many people and is felt to be particularly prevalent among older workers. What is not always distinguished is the degree to which this deskilling might be voluntary as opposed to being an involuntary occupational downgrading. Rosenfeld (1992) criticizes studies, particularly those based on labour market segmentation theory, because they, "do not look at people's *destinations* (italics added) when they leave a firm" (p. 49). She further stresses the importance of other variables that influences these destinations, such as national markets, or macroeconomic conditions, time in the individual's work life when the job shift occurs, labour force experience, firm-specific seniority, duration dependence, and age. Additionally, many studies do not take into account other life course factors, such as marriage and children and the effects these have, in particular, on women. In the present study the information available on the occupational goals of the workers, together with personal and occupational characteristics, did permit a more careful look at the issue of deskilling among the mid-age and older workers. The findings demonstrate some of the differences in job shifting between mid-age and older men and women.

The examination of deskilling in the present study highlighted one of the factors identified by Rosenfeld (1992) as important in job mobility; job destination. Participants in the JFC were asked to state an occupational goal as a necessary condition for being admitted to the program. Mid-age women and the two groups of older workers more often had an occupational goal with a lower skill level than in their previous job than did mid-age men, so some of the deskilling exhibited could be attributed to choice. In the logistic regression one of the significant variables for predicting who was likely to experience deskilling versus who was not were those individuals who stated an occupational goal with a lower skill level than their previous job as compared to those who did not. The older workers may have been looking for bridging jobs which is a not uncommon phenomenon among this group (Doeringer, 1990; Ruhm, 1990). The mid-age women may have been looking for a job which would more readily accommodate their family responsibilities. In some of the instances deskilling accompanied re-employment and could be interpreted as voluntary because the JFC participant was looking for a job with a lower skill level. Other instances of deskilling, perhaps most, were not voluntary, but more a reflection of searching for work in an economy in which there were fewer good jobs at a higher skill level available to these mid-age and older workers.

The interviews with the smaller group of JFC participants about the match between educational qualifications and their last job as well as changes in their workplace or jobs over the past five years give some indications as to why a number of these workers either wanted a job with higher or lower skill levels or wanted to stay at the same skill level. While technological changes often associated with deskilling did not appear to be a major factor in wanting or not wanting such changes, job demands were probably more important. More older women felt job demands, such as amount of physical activity required to do the job, had increased and they were the group that most frequently reported wanting a job with a lower skill level. In contrast older men most often reported a good match of educational qualifications with their previous jobs and this would account for why they were less apt to want a change; they had the kind of job that matched their qualifications and as they reported were satisfied with this type of job. They were also the least likely to say they would be willing to take any job to become re-employed.

Becoming re-employed in the same occupation and in the same locality as one's previous job are not always conditions that are possible. The probability of being able to do either may be decreasing, both as occupational changes occur with the shift towards more service jobs in the economy and in the face of an increasingly global labour market. Workers, especially, older workers, may have to be more cognizant of changes that are occurring in society and the workplace. Older men, at least in their expressed unwillingness to take any job or to relocate within Canada, demonstrated the least flexibility. Mid-age women indicated the second lowest level of flexibility in these respects. Even though it could be demonstrated that some degree of expressed inflexibility is linked to factors like home ownership and the presence of dependents, it may also indicate the existence of expectations about the labour market which are at odds with what is happening in the economy and society. Reich (1992) suggests we are not prepared for capitalism in the next century because the, "defining characteristics [of the 1950s economy] are still fixed in America's collective memory, and although the image bears almost no relation to how the economy is organized today, it continues to condition the thinking of many Americans at century's end" (p. 46). Workers of all ages need to begin thinking about and planning for work within an economy which is in many important respects fundamentally different from that they started to work in. An increased *willingness* to undertake occupational and geographical mobility may be necessary feature of this thinking and planning.

To a large extent the men in the study came from occupations with less demand in the local labour market at the time of the study as was noted by closely examining the trends in local labour market indicators. This would be expected to influence their labour market success. Coming from occupations in trades and transportation, business, finance, and administrative, or natural and applied sciences occupations and skill level B (Paraprofessional and technical occupations) served as a barrier because these jobs were in the industries most affected by the downsizing that occurred in the local labour market. These occupations were further affected by the recession. One of the findings that this study highlights is the importance of local labour market conditions to both re-employment and occupational change. The logistic regressions for finding a job versus not finding a job highlighted the importance of labour market conditions. In years with "good" conditions it was easier for all age and gender groups to find a job. Labour market adjustment programs may require a different approach in times of high unemployment as opposed to when labour market conditions are tighter. Thus if a number of jobs are readily available, matching workers to these jobs which is in essence the function of a JFC, may be the best approach for many older workers. Based on the findings that the re-employment rate was not high, differences in finding a job between mid-age and older workers, perhaps with the exception of older men, were not marked, and a number of participants experienced a decrease in salary and skill level, albeit some of the latter voluntary, there are a number of policy implications of using a JFC as a means of assisting this group with re-employment.

Policy Implications

One of the important policy questions is "should older workers be seen as a distinct group on the basis of age alone and, therefore, have specific programs targeted towards them?" If so, what is/are the optimal program(s) that should be promoted? These are not new debates, rather they have gone on in policy circles within Canada and other countries for some time (Belbin, 1965; Hunter, 1993). Since the challenge for public employment services is to "render service and implement policy" in a way that meets the frequently conflicting economic and social objectives of a country (OECD, 1984), the question of the appropriateness of JFCs for older workers is of some importance as the government meets the mandate of dealing with unemployment.

A recurring challenge for governments is how to help those who are unemployed find work, especially when dealing with certain groups who are recognized as having group-specific labour market risks. A second challenge is in finding the best program for specific workers among the range of possible programs. These challenges bring into focus the question of the appropriateness of the JFC approach in helping older workers find a job and suggest that an array of government policies on retraining and re-employment are required to deal with older workers.

As a first step, it is important to differentiate the various labour market risks or barriers faced by various age and gender groups because different risks call for different solutions. Two of the important questions left unanswered in this study are, first, what happened to those older workers who did not find a job and, second, what prevented them from finding employment? We know that some of the participants decided to try other approaches such as accessing retraining either in more general, or more job specific skills, and a few were lost to follow-up. Others who did not find jobs may have been assisted by retraining programs which might have improved their re-employment chances. While these questions must remain unanswered there are further policy implications from this type of study as well as recommendations for further research.

It has been over a decade ago now since the document *Charting a Clear Course for a National Older Worker* 's *Program* (CEIAC, 1986) called for separate strategies to assist those 55 years and over, as opposed to those in the 45-54 year old group, yet little work has been done on that recommendation. The term "older worker" does seem somewhat of a misnomer for workers who are 45 years old. The beginning point of such a strategy calls for a redefinition of the problem, and part of this redefinition recognizes the power of naming. Even though the definition of an older worker is no longer explicitly tied into their difficulty finding work, it is still not a neutral term and it continues to be synonymous with terms like "dead wood" or "hard-to-employ" workers. The irony of the situation is that at a time when we are living longer and are changing some of our views of age, especially of old age, we continue to age at an alarming rate in one of the central facets of our lives, work. Will we be considered an older worker when we are 35 years old in the not too distant future? We need to recognize some of the differences among the over 45 years group and to implement a new policy framework that would consider the differences at least between the 45-54 year olds and the 55-64 years old.

For a number of workers to obtain employment they do require further educational qualifications or retraining, and placing them in a program which helps them search for work rather than to retrain may set them up for failure. They simply are not competitive in the job market (Economic Council of Canada, 1990). This could be the situation for some mid-age women who have been out of work for a number of years. It could also apply to older men who have been displaced from a job and who may not possess necessary job skills or the ones that they do possess may not be adequate. A retraining program that helps them to overcome their particular labour market barriers would seem more appropriate.

This study brings into question the wider issue of job finding assistance programs as opposed to retraining for older workers. It also questions how targeted programs contribute to continuing labour market segmentation. As Carnoy (1980) observed, "the theoretical basis for educational investments and educational planning in many countries rests on an unstated theory of the behaviour of employment, productivity and income in response to educational expansion" (p. 13). If we do not see older workers as benefitting from retraining, being productive workers, or in need of employment then we will not put much effort into helping them improve their chances. The literature reviewed on retraining and older workers points out some of the biases that operate against older workers when it comes to deciding who will receive retraining. Participants interviewed echoed these observations. While they were split on the question as to whether or not younger or older workers ought to have preference when it comes to retraining, they were in agreement on what is the case, and that is younger workers are given preference. The majority also felt that both groups could retrain together. Mid-age women had the most realistic view of retraining, realistic in the sense that it more closely mirrors what tends to happen with retraining and reported in a number of studies (Baldwin & Johnson, 1995; Myles & Fawcett, 1990). They were much more likely to say it was more probable that younger workers and men would be given a chance for retraining. In addition if there were no age barriers to obtaining an opportunity for retraining, they still felt younger workers would come out at an advantage and have improved chances for employment compared to older workers who had retrained. JFCs are the least expensive means of getting disadvantaged groups back to work and avoids the question of retraining even though JFCs may not always be the most effective means for the participants involved.

A criticism of retraining programs in Canada is that historically adult retraining has not been emphasized nor has intensive workplace training been given priority (Banting, et al., 1995). As early as 1910 when MacKenzie King established a Royal Commission on Industrial Training and Technical Education to look at the preparedness of the workforce, the evaluation of Canada's efforts toward improving the skills of older workers through education was that in comparison with other countries such as the U.S. and those in Europe which had these services, "Canada is behind the times" (Hunter, 1993, p.32). A legitimate question is "are there still concerns with adult retraining in Canada?" and are we still behind the times? One of the policy recommendations of this study is that there be a better assessment of labour market risks for mid-age and older workers and based on this assessment, appropriate programs be designed to help overcome those risks. For some unemployed older workers, this might be a JFC or a similar approach, but because labour market barriers varied markedly among the mid-age and older workers, they may need to be distributed widely throughout a number of different approaches.

Somewhat related to the last recommendation is that policy-makers and those who design programs to help the unemployed find work, use labour market differences and information more meaningfully in their work. One of the criticisms of JFCs as a strategy is that there is a denial or lack of awareness of labour market segmentation and that different approaches may be required when helping someone find a job in a primary sector job as opposed to in the secondary sector. In designing labour market adjustment programs we cannot overlook how important differences in labour market segments are nor the implications these differences have for placing workers.

Another policy recommendation is for the creation of meaningful jobs that people of all ages can access. It is important not to confuse the issues of giving assistance to workers, even assistance in helping them find jobs, with having jobs available for them to find. This was illustrated clearly by success of the JFC participants in finding a job during the recessionary period when labour market conditions were less favourable. No matter what their age, nor what kind of assistance is given, a person cannot find a job in a labour market where few jobs exist. Rather what tends to occur is that the more advantaged groups will continue to find jobs while the more disadvantaged ones continue to experience difficulties, even perhaps increased difficulties. This study does raise the issue of the importance of employment for mid-age and older men and women, and in turn the need for different types of assistance with re-employment.

Changes in retirement planning illustrates how unemployment at this stage in a person's life is difficult for older workers. Almost two-thirds of the 57 participants said they were forced to change retirement planning because of their unemployment. Most of these were men, and the direction of change was to increase their planned retirement age, although a few were in the opposite direction. Sources of income used while unemployed in this smaller group and among the 636 JFC participants further highlight their potential difficulties in later life. In the former group the number reporting using savings and investments was high among all age and gender groups and in the latter group, while it was not as high, it was higher among older men. Part of the discrepancy observed is in methodology because participants in the smaller group were asked directly if they used savings while unemployed and in the larger group were asked to volunteer source or sources of income while unemployed and may have listed what they saw as the more important or main sources of income. The mid-age and older workers interviewed indicated that they had to make a number of cutbacks in spending on various items and that they were concerned about their financial situation, both of which suggest that unemployment is indeed problematic for them despite beliefs in society to the contrary (Canadian Human Rights Commission, 1997). The findings also suggest that their unemployment has long-term consequences which might not always be considered.

An implication for this finding is that government consider not only the re-employment difficulties of older workers, but their *unemployment* difficulties, too. Discussions of pension plan reform and changes ought to take place with these difficulties clearly in mind. If these difficulties are not considered when pension changes are proposed, further widening of differences among the rich and poor in Canada could occur at the post-retirement stage. The Canadian Human Rights Commission (1997) suggests that older workers are a vulnerable group and in need of employment; this study supports that contention.

A finding not necessarily related to the issue of JFCs as an appropriate labour market strategy for older workers, but one that has important policy implications, is that age is still an issue in employment. How salient an issue it is for government and policy makers often depends on how society, or more particularly the electorate, evaluates the situation. James Schulz, (1988) an economist of aging suggests, "Everyone is in favour of keeping older people in the labour force except the unions, government, business, and older people" (p. 164); suggesting that older workers do not have many champions for their cause. Despite the number of campaigns and educational programs to present the older worker in a more positive light, older workers are still subject to a negative evaluation.

A number of the participants were acutely aware that employers evaluated them negatively; that employers felt they were older workers even at age 40 years. They also reported that in some occupations they were considered older at a younger age, e.g., 40 or 45 years, than in other occupations. While there was a discrepancy between how old the participants felt, that is their subjective age, and how they believed potential employers evaluated their age, or how age was evaluated in different occupations, the participants were under no illusion that the latter was the more important. They were aware that from a personal perspective "you are only as old as you feel", when it came to getting a job they were as old as the potential employers judged them to be. Until society as a whole is less ageist this problem will continue to affect older workers.

Strengths and Limitations of Present Study

One of the main strengths of the present study is that in combining the two types of data, i.e., JFC records with interviews, it permitted me to overcome some of the limitations inherent in studies of this type; re-employment studies in the context of a government program. Studies of the success of any group of workers with public programs tend to be deficient in that they are either done for administrative purposes and therefore left untheorized, or they are conducted from a narrow intellectual or methodological framework, thus oversimplifying the impact of these programs on the participants (Harlan & Steinberg, 1989a). Using the information on the JFC records permitted an objective assessment of the re-employment success for these participants, while interviews with the participants, permitted a first-hand account of their unemployment experiences and how they perceived what was happening to them as older workers.

A second strength of this study is the inclusion of detailed labour market indicators. Though some degree of labour market segmentation is a feature of all capitalist societies, it is possible to note changes in the particular character of segmentation as cyclical changes occur in economies (Sengenberger, 1981). Labour market indicators thus provide an important contextual background to the study. Economic or labour market barriers based on what is occurring in the local labour market form an important context for the success rate of any group of workers in their search for employment. If there are few jobs available and little job creation taking place that will highlight the employment difficulties especially of the more vulnerable groups of workers. The labour market conditions did affect how these mid-age and older workers fared and what their re-employment success was like.

A limitation of the study is in the use of agency records as the main source of data on re-employment success and some of the constraints this put on the study. It was not possible to identify all the labour market barriers, for example, information was not available on ethnicity or disability, yet, we know they are barriers to re-employment. Some of the other known labour market barriers, such as class, along with other factors important to re-employment are not contained in the JFC records and as a consequence could not be studied. In addition it is important to know more about the JFC member's job history, e.g., how long subjects were in their previous jobs, whether or not it was their usual job, and if they were working part- or full- time. This type of information was available on a more limited basis from the participants who were interviewed. While it gave some insights into some of the discontinuities in employment this group were experiencing, not having the information for the larger group meant the effects of job discontinuities and other forms of destandard work arrangement on re-employment could not be systematically studied. One type of critical information that was not available for all the JFC participants, particularly in looking at increased labour market segmentation, is how many obtained part-time or temporary positions. This information would help to further assess job finding success among these workers, more fully examine the extent of deskilling, and better assess the effectiveness of the JFC.

Salary data were less reliable in terms of looking at changes upon re-employment. For previous job a number of participants reported a low annual salary, but since it was not known if this annual salary represented earnings from a part-time or a full-time job, it was difficult to compare any salary changes. The general trend was, however, for salary to go down. What was noticeable about salary changes was that for their previous job a high percentage of participants reported an annual salary and upon re-employment they reported an hourly wage with or without a commission. It would have been helpful to explore more fully what these changes signified.

A further limitation is the length of time the JFC participants were followed. In comparing the differences between the situation immediately after the JFC program finished with that at the three month follow-up, it was clear that some age and gender groups took longer to find a job than others. The time period available may not have been long enough to examine the long term difficulties these mid-age and older workers experienced, nor what the longer term outlooks for these individuals were. It did not permit a good assessment of how long it takes older workers when engaged in active job search to find a job. Since the success and viability of any labour market strategy is more dependent upon the longer term effect it may have, a longitudinal study tracking these workers over a two year time period would be advantageous.

A final limitation of this study and a frequent criticism of case studies in general is related to the representativeness of the subjects and their situation, and thus the generalizability of the findings from such a study (Hamel, 1993; Yin, 1994). Case studies are limited by time, location, and particulars of the group studied.

Generalizability of Findings

This particular case study was limited to the period between 1988 and 1993, to the Edmonton labour market, and to a group of workers between 45 and 64 years attending a JFC, however, it was a significant time to study older workers. The study was a total population of the JFC participants in that local labour market over the three year period and as such did permit an in-depth study of these participants' experiences and a closer look at re-employment among this group. While it is not known how similar these workers are to other groups of unemployed older workers attending JFCs, the study can contribute to our overall understanding of older workers and re-employment, especially among those taking part in a job searching assistance program. Devereaux (1995) suggested a need for more "micro-level information on the outcomes of individuals" (p. 38) to better understand the "greying" of the workforce. This study makes a contribution in that direction.

The participants may not be representative of other unemployed older workers but there is good reason to believe that the conditions operative in the local labour market studied are similar to what was happening in other regions of the country and more globally. Downsizing and restructuring with resulting displacement of workers and contingent work arrangement are not particular to the local labour market. These JFC participants do seem to be similar to older workers being laid off in other areas of Canada and the U.S.being described as the "new unemployed". A comparison of local labour market indicators with those of other regions, and in particular urban centres (Schellenberg, 1997b), during the study period demonstrated similarities in patterns while specifics may have differed, e.g., unemployment rate or help-wanted index. Older workers had longer unemployment duration during the recession of the early 1990s (Corak, 1993), so not surprisingly they would have done less well in finding a job.

Future Research

The literature on older workers and the findings, along with the limitations of the present research, indicate a number of promising areas for future research on mid-age and older workers and how to assist them with re-employment. The first is the need for a more detailed study of the labour market barriers facing older and mid-age workers, both men and women, in re-employment. Although we have a good understanding of some of the difficulties that these workers face, they have not been systematically studied. A helpful comprehensive framework for this type of study would be one proposed by Haughton et al. (1993), which takes into account a number of categories containing a wide variety of factors. There is a need to study both individual and structural factors along with how labour market policy contributes to those barriers. In the present study individual worker characteristics were the main research focus and factors, such as education or whether or not the person was experiencing long term unemployed, did not help to explain who was likely to get re-employed or to experience deskilling. It would be important to find out what some of the other barriers these workers faced, such as discrimination in their job search, potential employer's evaluation of older workers, or attitudes toward this group.

The second area for further research is a comparative study of different approaches or programs intended to facilitate the re-employment of mid-age and older workers. This research should build on a solid understanding of the various labour market barriers confronting different groups of workers and what types of approaches are most helpful in a variety of situations. "Older" workers are fairly heterogeneous and no one program can be expected to meet all their needs. What is needed are approaches beyond just job finding assistance and a study of these approaches in order to discover which work best and for what type of individuals. Program evaluation is an important measure in devising policy and programs for older workers. While certain groups have advocated "special" programs for older workers, those groups have not defined what these programs would consist of on delivery. On a broader level it is important to study policy implications of placing selected workers into different re-employment programs. Are the employment policies which emphasize job finding assistance programs for older workers as opposed to retraining for this group, part of a broader problem of discrimination against older workers which is perpetuated within policy circles?

The finding that mid-age women were more successful in getting a job with this particular job finding assistance approach also requires further investigation. Harlan and Steinberg (1989b), who have done the most extensive evaluation of the effects of gender differences on various retraining programs in the U.S., warn us about accepting the conclusion that women "gained more" from these types of program on the basis of looking at "narrowly-defined economic outcomes," which may result, in turn, in a "lack of critical perspectives on national policy" (p. vii). What is required is further research into job training programs for women and older workers and the appropriateness and effectiveness of these different programs.

A third area for further research is a longitudinal study of older workers re-entry into the labour force. The time frame in the present study, which was limited by the follow-up period selected for the JFC members, did not give a sense of how these participants did in the much longer term. By the three month follow-up some of the workers had moved into better jobs and after a longer period more workers could have improved their situation. Alternatively, they could have done worse and suffered recurrent episodes of unemployment. Some of the individuals employed at the end of the JFC have become unemployed again by three months. The time frame did not permit some of the labour market adjustments that may occur with this group to be fully explored as would happen in a study with a longer time frame. Of particular importance would be who gets full-time versus part -time jobs and permanent versus temporary or contractual jobs. Research of this nature would be timely given the amount of restructuring of business and government that is taking place domestically and how labour seems to be becoming increasingly segmented.

The fourth area for further research comes from my search for an understanding of who the older worker is, how he or she has been defined, when the older worker became identified as a social category, and what contributed to that construction, particularly within a Canadian context. There is a pressing need for a social history of age and work within Canada. The early development of an older worker problem in Canada and the experiences of older Canadian workers with employment and unemployment are not as well studied as they have been in Britain and the U.S. (see for examples, Achenbaum, 1978; Chudacoff, 1989; Odell, 1980; Phillipson, 1982). Finding early evidence for an older worker as a special category in Canada is difficult. Studies of early industrial work in Canada do not document the effects of age on productivity and employment, yet, there must have been instances where age was a factor. For example, Parr (1990), in her historical study of knitting workers in Paris, Ontario and furniture manufacturers in Hanover, Ontario, demonstrates that, while gender was very important in employment and unemployment in these two industries, age appeared not to be so. Similarly, in Kealey's (1980) study of the transition to industrial capitalism among Toronto workers 1867-1892 there is no reference to age other than the reporting of the number of adult versus child workers in the various industries. Yet in Wellington County House of Industry in Ontario, 1877-1907, which provided indoor relief for rural indigent members of the county, the elderly, defined as men and women 55 years and older, comprised the majority of the residents of this particular institution (Stewart, 1992). Older men predominated among the ranks of the unemployed even then.

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APPENDIX A

SELECTED DEFINITIONS OF AN OLDER WORKER

Selected Definitions of an Older Worker

AUTHOR	DATE	SOURCE	DEFINITION
Marsh, L.C.	1940	*Canadians in and out of work*	55-64 years; and 65 and over
National Conference on Aging	1950	*Man and his years: An account of the first national conference on aging.*	An older worker is an adult who meets with resistance to employment, continued employment, or re-employment solely because of his age (p. 72).
Pollak, O.	1950	"The older worker in the labour market"	In this study individuals who have reached the chronological age of 45 years will be considered as older workers (p. 58).
Breckinridge, E.	1953	*Effective use of older workers.*	Refers to those who have job-related problems because of age.
Campbell, I.	1959	"Experience available"	An older worker is anyone who encounters difficulty in getting a job or holding the one he has because of age. This definition may cover men and women from 30 to beyond 70 although the majority of those whose employment difficulties constitute the problem of the older worker are in the age group 40 to 64 (p. 23).

Economic and Research Branch, Department of Labour.	1959	*The aging worker in the Canadian economy.*	A worker may be regarded as an older worker when his employability begins to become more limited because of his age: either his tenure in his job or the level of income he is earning from it becomes more precarious, or he is subject to age restrictions on hiring that would limit his opportunities should he have to look for work (p. 1)
Unemployment Insurance Commission	1959	*How old is old? A study of the older worker problem*	A person is an older worker only when he or she encounters, or may expect to encounter, difficulty in obtaining or keeping a job principally because of age (p. 10).
Starr, M.	1960	"A summary of the older worker problem"	An older worker is anyone who, because of age, has difficulty in obtaining or retaining employment (p. 7).
Schneider, B. V.	1962	*The older worker.*	One who meets with resistance to employment, continued employment or re-employment solely because of age.
Woods, H. D. & Ostry, S.	1962	*Labour policy and labour ecomomics in Canada.*	The term 'older worker' should include not only those sixty- five and over but *some* [italics added] in the age-group between forty-five and sixty-four.

Economics and Research Branch, Department	1964	*The aging worker in the Canadian economy.*	A worker may be regarded as an older worker when his employability begins to become more limited because of his age: either his tenure in his job or the level of income he is earning from it becomes more precarious, or he is subject to age restrictions on hiring that would limit his opportunities should he have to look for work.
Belbin, R.M.	1965	*Employment of Older Workers 2: Training Methods.*	The term "older workers" in this Report will be used in a relative sense to refer to those who fall within an age range that is usually denied the opportunity of training. (p. 15)
Brownstone, M.	1966	*Economic needs and employment of the aged.*	It can be argued that the aging - unemployment relationship begins in the 45-65 age period. In terms of employment opportunities a worker is old at 45 (p. 24).
Sobel, I & Wilcock, R	1966	*Placement techniques for for older workers.*	In this report the term 'older' or 'aging' refers to workers 45 years and above (p. 13).
Ontario Human Rights' Commission	1970	*The older worker in today's economy and community.*	Between the ages of 40 and 65.
Campbell, I.	1972	"Older workers in Canada: employment, training and retirement".	45-65 age group are older workers.
Morse, D.	1979	*The utilization of older workers.*	Passed 55th birthday.

Copperman, L., Keast, F.D., & Douglas G. M.	1981	"Survey highlight older older workers' preferences for employment".	50 and over.
Sampson, F.	1981	*The labour force position of older workers.*	The concept of older worker identifies persons 45 years of age and older who are active participants in the Canadian labour force (p. 2).
Taeuber, C.	1983	"Older workers: Force of the future?"	Older workers: 55-64 years Elderly workers: 65 years and older.
Canada Employment and Immigration Advisory Council	1985	*Older workers: An imminent crisis in the labour market.*	For the purpose of this study an older worker is defined as one between 45 and 64 years of age (p. 3).
Tucker, F.	1985	"A Study of the training needs of older workers: Implications for human resource development planning".	40+ [years]
Breslaw, J.A. Stelcner, M.	1987	"The effect of health on the labour force behaviour of elderly men in Canada".	Elderly: 50 years +
Johnson, T.R., Dickinson, K.P. & West, R.W.	1987	"Older workers, job displacement, and the employment service".	45 years and older.
Shapiro, D. & Sandell, S. H.	1987	"The reduced pay of older job losers: Age discrimination and other explanations".	55-59 years
Rones, P.L.	1988	"Employment, earnings, and unemployment characteristics of older workers".	55 years and older

Statistics Canada	1989, 1991	*Canada's older workers: A profile of their 1986 labour market experiences.*	45 years and older
CLMPC	1990	Report of the CLMPC Task Forces Labour Force Development Strategy.	older worker population [are] 45 and over. "Younger" older workers [are] between the ages of 45 and 55 or possibly 60.. "Older" older workers [are] 55, or possibly over 60.
Brown, J. C.	1990	*Victims or villans?*	The definition of an older worker (or older unemployed person) in policy discussion tends to move in relation to two factors: the age of retirement and the level of unemployment.
Hale, N.	1990	*The older worker.*	employees fifty years and older.
Laczko, F.	1990	"Early exit and employment of older workers in the 1990s in the United Kingdom".	55-64 years
Palmore, E. B.	1990	*Ageism: Negative and positive.*	Cites U. S. Department of Labour's definition age 40 and over.
Doeringer et al.	1991	*Turbulence in the American Workplace.*	"Older workers" are Individuals 55 years of age or older, and the "elderly" are those 65 and older.
Statistics Canada	1991	*Canada's older workers: A profile of their 1987 labour market experiences.*	45 years and older
Towers Perrin	1991	*Workforce 2000: Competing in a sellar's market: Is Canadian Management Prepared?*	>50 years

Employment and Immigration Canada.	1993	*Hiring older workers: A guide for employers.*	The older worker is considered to be the worker over 45, either in or out of the workforce.
Institute of Personnel Management	1993	*Age and employment Policies, attitudes, and practice.*	All those whose employment prospects are affected by aging.
Schellenberg, G.	1994	*Older workers and Canada's aging labour force. Research report.*	Age 45 and over.
OECD	1995	*The transition from work to retirement.*	Older workers 55 - 64 years (p. 13). "Old" workers aged 65 and over (p. 21).
Rife, J.	1995	*Employment of the telderly: An annotated bibliography.*	The term older or elderly refers to those age fifty and over.
CARNET	1995	*Displaced workers and the aging workforce A literature review.*	45-64 age group.
Schellenberg, G.	1997	*Profile of experienced workers: An overview of large urban centres.*	The term "experienced worker" is used throughout this report when referring to individuals aged 45 and over.